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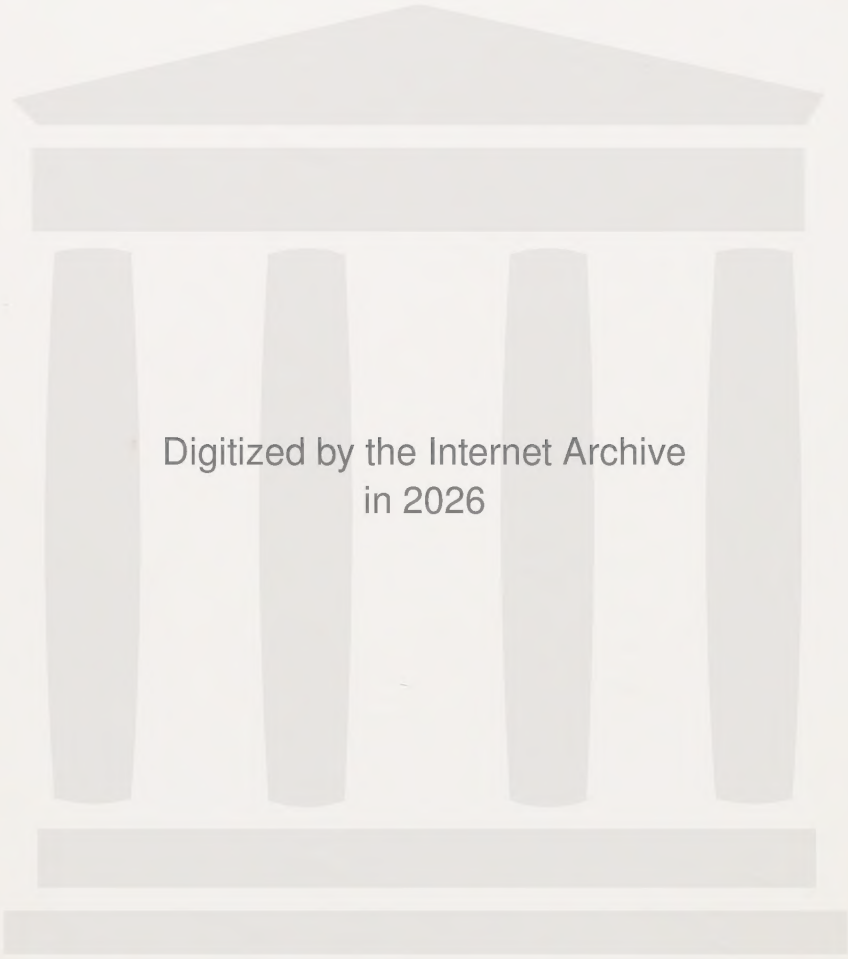
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HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES

FROM ABORIGINAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

EMBRACING AN ACCOUNT OF THE ABORIGINES; THE NORSEMEN IN THE NEW WORLD; THE DISCOVERIES BY THE SPANIARDS, ENGLISH AND FRENCH; THE PLANTING OF SETTLEMENTS; THE GROWTH OF THE COLONIES; THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY IN THE REVOLUTION; THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNION; THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATION; THE CIVIL WAR; THE CENTENNIAL OF INDEPENDENCE; AND THE RECENT ANNALS OF THE REPUBLIC

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME IV

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL.D.

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EX-PRESIDENT CLEVELAND AND HIS CABINET.

CHAPTER LXXI.

CLEVELAND'S ADMINISTRATION, 1885–1889.

GROVER CLEVELAND, twenty-second President of the United States, was born at Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837. Three years afterward he was taken by his parents to Fayetteville, near Syracuse, where he received sufficient education to enable him to become a teacher. As this pursuit, however, was uncongenial, he went to Buffalo, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1859. Four years later he began his public career as assistant district attorney. In 1869 he became sheriff of Erie County; in 1881 mayor of Buffalo; and in 1882 elected to the governorship of New York by the astounding majority of 192,854. In July, 1884, he became the standard-bearer of the Democratic party, and was duly elected. His cabinet advisers, afterward confirmed by the Senate, were as follows: secretary of the treasury, Daniel Manning, of New York; secretary of the interior, Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi; secretary of war, Wm. C. Endicott, of Massachusetts; secretary of the navy, Wm. C. Whitney, of New York; postmaster-general, Wm. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin; attorney-general, Augustus H. Garland, of Arkansas.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

The most serious question which confronted the new President was the distribution of official patronage. The Democratic party had come into power on a platform distinctly enunciating the doctrine of reform in the civil service. From almost the beginning of the government it had been the custom of the party in power to distribute to its own partisans all the appointive offices. This usage, well estab-

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

lished since the days of President Jackson, had been the origin and cause of the greater part of the abuses which had existed in the various departments of the government. Extreme party men had claimed always that "to the victors belong the spoils" of office. Of late years, however, the best political opinion of the country has turned with disgust from the gross practice of rewarding men for mere party services; and in the evenly balanced presidential contests of 1880 and 1884 it became all important that both the dominant parties should conciliate, at least by professions of sympathy, the growing phalanx of civil service reformers. They it was who, in the late election, believing in the sincerity of Mr. Cleveland, had thrown their influence in his favor and thereby secured his elevation to the presidency. He went into office pledged to carry out the views of those by whose suffrages he had been raised to power. These views, moreover, were his own, and it thus happened that the new administration was launched with "Civil Service Reform" inscribed on its pennon. It was

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.

soon seen, however, that the President would have serious difficulty in carrying out his purpose. From the day of the inauguration, a great crowd of office-seekers thronged the capital, and the chief magistrate was besieged by hundreds and thousands of those whose principal claims to preferment were that they had served the party. During the first year of the new administration it was a grave question whether or not the President would be able to stand by the flag of reform, or whether he would be driven to re-adopt the cast-off policy of satisfying with official appointments the hungry horde that surged around the presidential mansion.

AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE.

The last years of the Republic have been noted for two circumstances, both of historical interest, and both relating to the Civil War. The first of these is the revival of the memory of that conflict, in authoritative publications, by some of the leading participants. This work, so important to the right understanding of the great struggle for and against the Union, was begun by General William T. Sherman, who, in 1875, published his *Memoirs*, narrating the story of that part of the war in which he had been a leader. This had been preceded by the history of the WAR BETWEEN THE STATES, by Alexander H. Stephens, late Vice-President of the Confederacy. In 1884 General Grant began the publication of a series of war articles in the *Century Magazine*, which attracted universal attention, and which led to the preparation and publication of his *Memoirs* in 1885-86. Similar contributions

JOSEPH HOOKER.

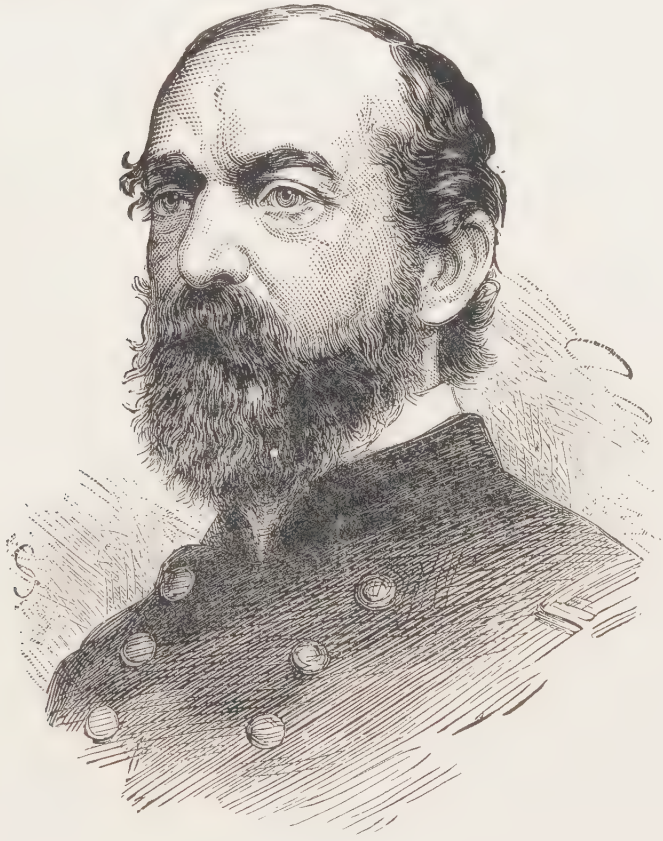
by other eminent commanders of the Union and Confederate armies followed in succession, until a large amount of able and impartial literature was left on record for the instruction of after times.

The second fact referred to is the death, within the compass of a single year, of a number of the great Union generals who had led their armies to victory in the War of the Rebellion. It was in the early summer of 1885 that the attention of the people was called away from public affairs by the announcement that the veteran General Ulysses S. Grant had been stricken with a fatal malady, and that his days would be but few among the living. The heart of the Nation was greatly saddened by the intelligence; but not even the sympathy of a great people could prevail against or even postpone the approaching hour of fate. The hero of Vicksburg and Appomattox sank under the ravages of a malignant cancer, which had fixed itself in his throat, and, on July 23, died at a summer cottage on Mount McGregor, New York. His last days were hallowed by the sympathies of the Nation which he had so gloriously defended. The news of his death passed over the land like the shadow of a great cloud. Almost every city and hamlet showed, in some appropriate way, its emblems of grief. The funeral ceremonies equaled, if they did not surpass, any which had ever been witnessed. The procession in New York city was, perhaps, the most solemn and imposing pageant ever exhibited in honor of the dead. On August 8, the body of General Grant was laid to rest in Riverside Park, overlooking the Hudson. There, on a summit, from which may be seen the great river and the metropolis

WINFIELD S. HANCOCK.

of the Nation, is the tomb of him whose courage and magnanimity in war will forever give him rank with the few master spirits who, by their heroic deeds, have honored the human race and changed the course of history.

Within less than three months from the funeral of Grant another



GEORGE G. MEADE.

distinguished Union general fell. On the 29th of October, General George B. McClellan, first commander of the Army of the Potomac, at one time general-in-chief, subsequently Democratic candidate for the presidency, and at a later period governor of New Jersey, died at his home at St. Cloud, in that State. The conspicuous part which he had borne during the first two years of the Civil War, his eminent abilities as a soldier and civilian, and his unblemished character as a

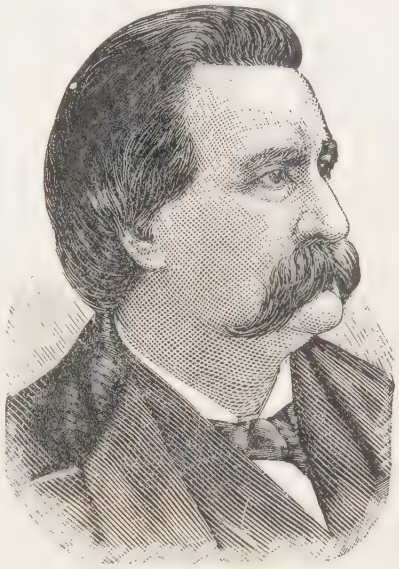
man and citizen, combined to heighten the estimate of his life and services, and to evoke the sincerest expressions of national sorrow on the occasion of his death.

After another brief interval a third great military leader fell, in the person of General Winfield S. Hancock. This brave and generous commander was, at the time of his death, the senior major-general of the American army. Always a favorite with the people, he had, since the close of the war, occupied a conspicuous place before the public. In 1880 he was the Democratic candidate for the presidency, and though defeated by General Garfield, the defeat was without dishonor. His death, which occurred at his home on Governor's Island, on the 9th of February, 1886, was universally deplored, and the people omitted no mark of respect to the memory of him who, in the great struggle for the preservation of the Union, had been honored with the title of "Hero of Gettysburg." Thus have passed away the gallant generals of the Army of the Potomac. George B. McClellan, Ambrose E. Burnside, Joseph Hooker, George G. Meade, and Winfield S. Hancock have one by one joined

> "The innumerable caravan that moves
> To that mysterious realm where each shall take
> His chamber in the silent halls of death."

Before the close of the year 1886 still another, worthy to rank among the greatest of the Union commanders of the Civil War, ended his career on earth. Late in December, Major-General John A. Logan, United States Senator from Illinois, fell sick at his home, called Calumet Place, in Washington City. His disease was rheumatism, to which he had been subject at intervals since his exposure and hardships in the early Western campaigns of the war. After a few days' illness he became suddenly worse, sank into a comatose condition, and on the 26th of the month quietly breathed his last. His military and civil career had been distinguished in the highest degree. At the outbreak of hostilities, in 1861, few men did more than Logan to strengthen and unify the Union sentiment in the wavering Border States. His voice was a clarion, heard shrill and far above the confusion and uproar of the times. Resigning his seat in Congress he joined the first advance of the Union army, and fought in the battle of Bull Run. Without previous military training he rose rapidly to distinction, and became the volunteer general *par excellence* of the war. After the close of the conflict he returned to political life, and was chosen United States Senator from Illinois. In 1884 he was

nominated for the vice-presidency on the Republican ticket with James G. Blaine. That ticket being defeated, he resumed his duties in the Senate, and remained at his post until his death. The ceremonies of his funeral and the general voice of the American press indicated in an unmistakable manner the enduring place which he had merited and won in the affections of the people.



JOHN A. LOGAN.

In the meantime a great civilian had fallen at his post of duty. On Nov. 25, 1885, Vice-President Thomas A. Hendricks, after what was supposed to be a trifling illness of a single day, died suddenly at his home in Indianapolis. The fatal message came in the form of paralysis. Not a moment's warning was given of the approach of that pale courier who knocks impartially at the door of the peasant and the portal of the great. The life of Mr. Hendricks had been one of singular purity, and the amenities of his character had been for many years conspicuous in the stormy arena of American politics. The goodness and greatness of the man, combined with his distinction as governor, senator, and vice-president, served to draw from the people every evidence of public and private respect for his memory. The body of the dead statesman was buried in Crown Hill Cemetery, near Indianapolis, the funeral pageant surpassing in grandeur and solemnity any other display of the kind ever witnessed in the Western States, except the funeral of Lincoln.

The death of the Vice-President was soon followed by that of Horatio Seymour, of New York. On the 12th of February, 1886, this distinguished citizen, who had been governor of the Empire State, and, in 1868, candidate of the Democratic party for the presidency against General Grant, died at his home in Utica. He had reached the age of seventy-six, and, though for many years living in retirement, had never ceased to hold a large share of the attention of his fellow-citizens. Still more distinguished in reputation and ability was Samuel J. Tilden, also of the Empire State, who died at his home.

called Greystone, at Yonkers, near New York City, on the 4th of August, 1886. Mr. Tilden had lived to make a marked—perhaps ineffaceable—impression on the political thought of the epoch. He had acquired within the lines of his own party an influence and ascendency far greater than that of any other statesman of his times. His intellectual force could not be doubted, nor could it be claimed that he failed to apply his faculties assiduously to the greatest political questions of the age.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

Mr. Tilden was born on the 14th of February, 1814, and was thus in the 73d year of his age at the time of his death. He had been a prominent figure in his native State for fully forty years, and had held many places of public trust and honor. In 1870–71 he was among the foremost in unearthing the astounding frauds and robberies which had been perpetrated on the city of New York, and in the following year was sent to the General Assembly, where his services were invaluable. In 1874 he was elected Governor of New York by a majority of more than 50,000 votes. In the executive office he was one of the ablest and most thorough-going who ever occupied the gubernatorial chair of the State. In 1876 he was nominated for the presidency, and at the election of that year received a large majority of the popular vote, only failing of a majority in the electoral college because of the tactics of the leaders of the party in power. Neither he nor General Hayes was clearly elected, the Democrats having carried two or three States with the shot-gun, and the Republicans, by the aid of the Electoral Commission, having counted in the electoral votes of a State or two which they did not carry at all. After the contest Mr. Tilden retired to private life, but continued to guide the counsels of his party and to influence public opinion up to the date of his death. Perhaps one of his ablest—as it was his last—public paper was a general letter on the subject of "The Coast and Harbor Defenses of the United States," a publication which clearly led to the legislation of the Forty-ninth Con-

gress on that important subject. Thus, within the space of less than eleven months, four of those eminent American statesmen who had been candidates of the Democratic party for the presidency of the United States, and the distinguished Vice-President recently chosen by that party to the second place of honor in the Government, had fallen from their places in the ranks of the living.

To this list of the American great whose earthly activities have recently ended in death must still be added the illustrious name of Henry Ward Beecher. To him, with little reservation, must be assigned the first place among our orators and philanthropists. Nor is it likely that his equal in most of the sublime qualities of energy and manhood will soon be seen again on the great stage of life. His personality was so large, so unique, and striking, as to constitute the man in some sense *sui generis*. His kind is rare in the world, and the circumstances which aided in his development have passed away. That fact in American history—the institution of slavery—which brought out and displayed the higher moods of his anger and stormy eloquence cannot again arouse the indignation of genius. The knight and his dangerous foil sleep together in the dust.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

Mr. Beecher had the happy fortune to retain his faculties unimpaired to the very close of his career. On the evening of the 5th of March, 1887, at his home in Brooklyn, surrounded by his family, with no premonition or portent, the message came by apoplexy. An artery broke in the magnificent, heavy brain, that had been for more than forty years one of the greatest batteries of thought and action in the world, and the aged orator, nearing the close of his seventy-fourth year, sank into that deep sleep from which no power on earth could wake him. He lived until the morning of the 8th, and quietly entered the shadows. The sentiments awakened by his death, the circumstances of his sepulture, and the common eulogium of mankind, proved

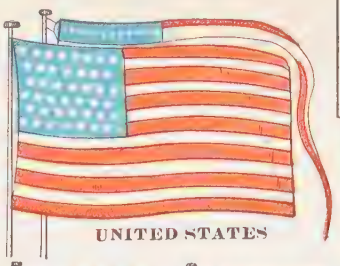
beyond doubt the supreme place which he had occupied in the admiring esteem, not only of his own countrymen, but of all the great peoples of the world.

Another distinguished name to be added to the American necrology of the decade is that of Morrison Remich Waite, Chief Justice of the United States. His death occurred at his home, in Washington City, on the 23d day of March, 1888. The event suggests and justifies the addition of a few paragraphs relative to the history and *personnel* of that great tribunal over which Judge Waite presided during the last fourteen years of his life.

MORRISON REMICH WAITE.

In the formation of the Constitution of the United States it was intended that the three general departments of the Government should be of correlative rank and influence. The sequel, however, as developed and illustrated in the actual working of our national system, has shown that the executive and legislative departments predominate, naturally, perhaps inevitably, over the judicial branch, and that, in the popular estimate, at least, the supreme court is of small importance as compared with the presidency and the two houses of Congress. This disesteem of the judiciary is not verified by a broader and more philosophical view of the subject. The importance, especially, of the conservative opinion of our great national court, in determining, at least negatively, the final validity of all legislation and of all subordinate judicial decisions, can hardly be overestimated. The same may be said of the supreme bench, considered as the only immovable breakwater against the unscrupulous and rampant spirit of party. It is fortunate, moreover, that the offices of our chief justice and of the associate justiceships are appointive, and are thus removed, in great measure, from the perfidy of the convention and the passion of a partisan election. It may be of interest to glance for a moment at some of the vicissitudes through which the supreme court has passed since its organization, in 1789.

NATIONAL


UNITED STATES

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Netherlands

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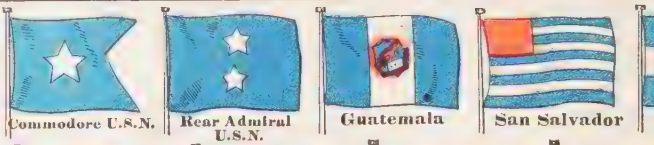

Commodore U.S.N.

Rear Admiral U.S.N.

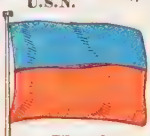
Guatemala

San Salvador

American Customs

American Jack

Mexico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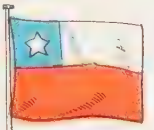
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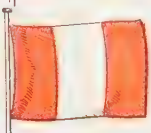
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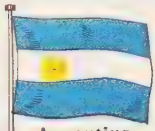
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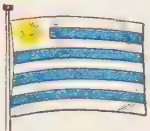
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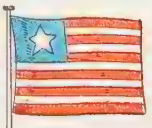
Paraguay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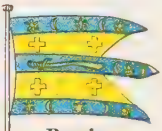
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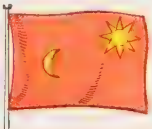
THE SHAH

Persian Standard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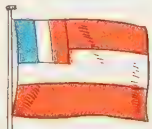
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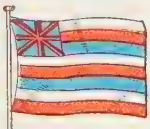
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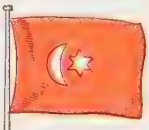
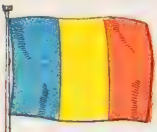

Turkey
MAN OF WAR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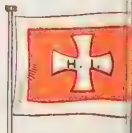
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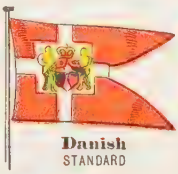
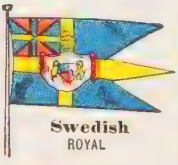

Danish
STANDARD

Danish
MAN OF WAR

Danish
MERCHANT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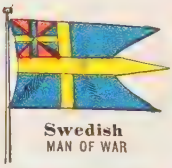
ROYAL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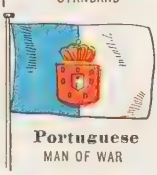
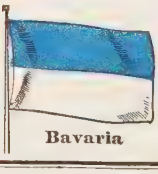
MAN OF WAR

Swedish
MERCHANT


Portuguese
MAN OF WAR

Russian Jack

Wurtemberg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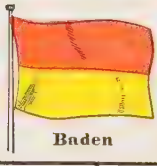
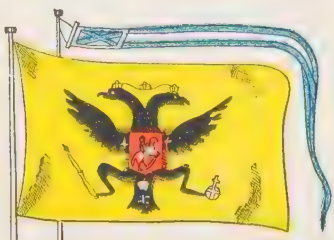
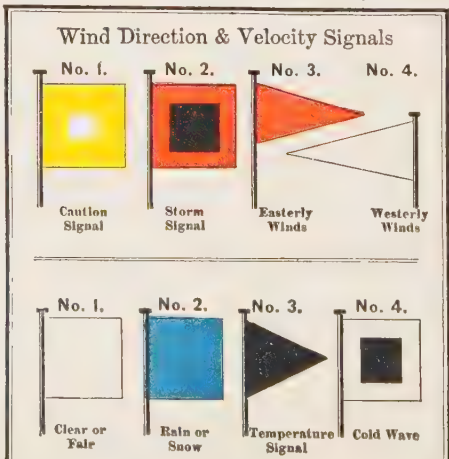

Baden

Austro-Hungari

Russian
MAN OF WAR

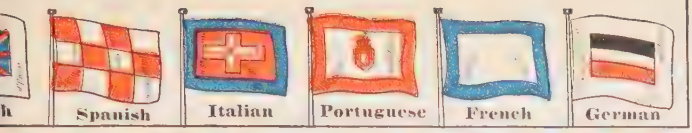
Russian
MERCHANT

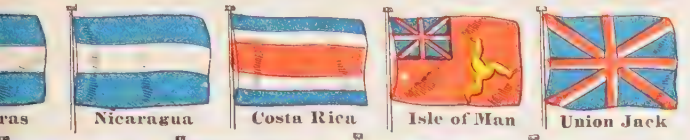

RUSSIAN STANDARD

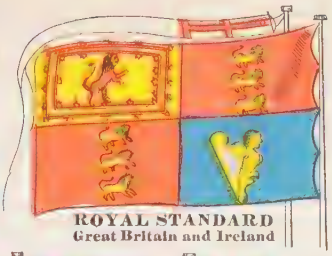


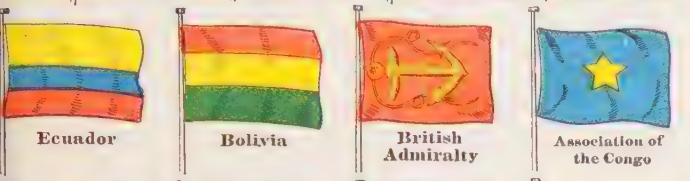
S. J. PARKHILL & CO., PRINTERS, BOSTON, U. S. A.

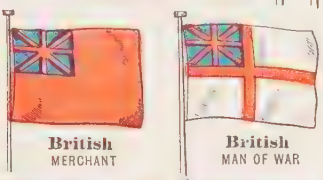
FLAGS.

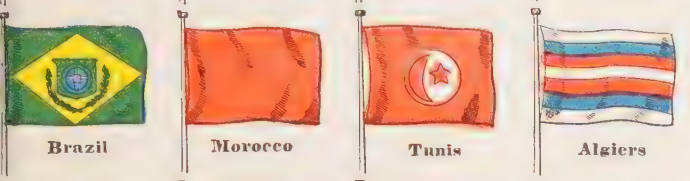


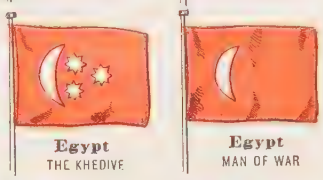


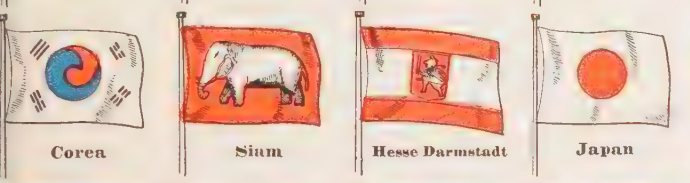


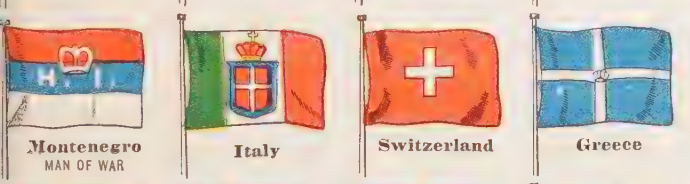


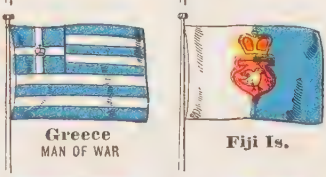


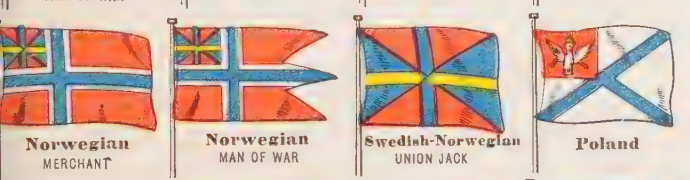


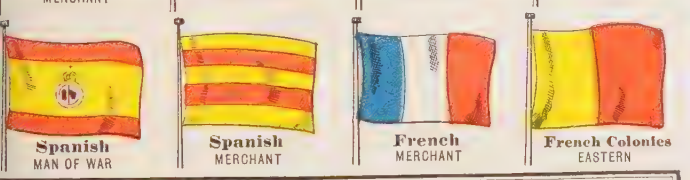


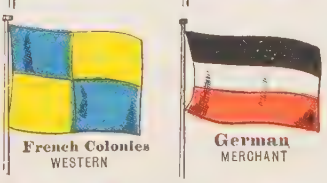


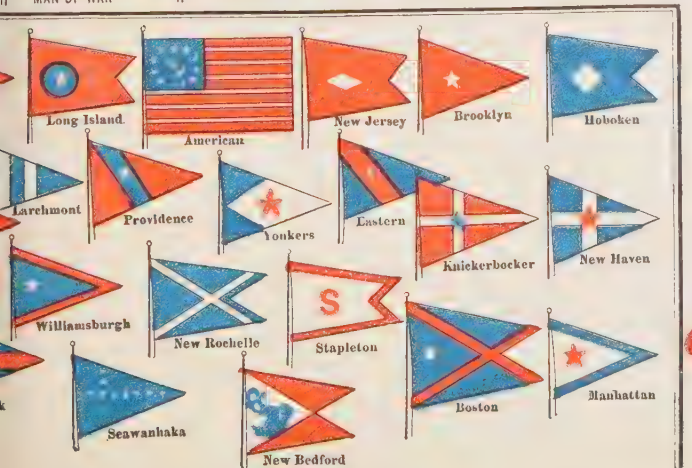




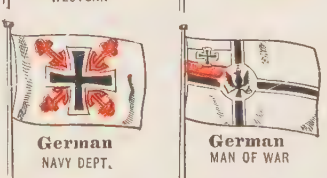








AMERICAN YACHT ENSIGNS.



GERMAN STANDARD

The court was then instituted by the appointment of John Jay as chief justice,* who held the office until 1796, when he gave place to Oliver Ellsworth. The latter presided over the court until, in 1800, the infirmities of age compelled his resignation. Then came the long and honorable ascendency of Chief Justice John Marshall, who held the office from his appointment, in 1801, to his death, in 1835. This was the golden age of the supreme court. From 1835 to 1837 there was an interregnum in the chief justiceship, occasioned by the disagreement of President Jackson and the Senate of the United States; but, at the latter date, the president secured the confirmation of Judge Roger B. Taney as chief justice, who entered upon his long term of twenty-seven years. It was his celebrated decision in the case of the negro, Dred Scott, relative to the status of the slave race in America, that applied the torch to that immense heap of combustibles whose explosion was the Civil War.

At the death of Chief Justice Taney, in 1864, President Lincoln appointed as his successor Salmon P. Chase, recently secretary of the treasury, and author of most of the great financial measures and expedients by which the national credit had been buoyed up and preserved during the rebellion. His official term extended to his death, in 1873, and covered the period when the important issues arising from the Civil War were under adjudication. To Chief Justice Chase fell also, by virtue of his office, the duty of presiding at the impeachment trial of President Andrew Johnson. In 1874 the appointment of Morrison R. Waite as chief justice was made by President Grant; and the death of this able jurist devolved on President Cleveland and the Senate the duty of naming his successor.

Chief Justice Waite was born at Lyme, Connecticut, on the 29th of November, 1816. From the public school he was transferred to Yale College, and was graduated from that institution in 1837. He then became a student of law, and, after completing his course, removed to Ohio, where he entered upon the practice of his profession at Maumee City. After serving one term, 1849–50, in the Legislature of the State, he removed to Toledo, which became henceforth his home, until his duties as chief justice called him to Washington City. He had been frequently solicited to become a candidate for office, but had adhered to his profession until 1871–72, when he accepted from President Grant the appointment as member of the celebrated Board of Arbitration, to sit at Geneva, in the adjudication of the Alabama Claims. Here he was associated with Charles Francis Adams, Caleb

* For the organization of the first supreme bench see page 364.

Cushing and Wm. M. Evarts; and, though he was less known to the public than they, he nevertheless bore himself with honor among his colleagues. Shortly after his return the death of Chief Justice Chase opened the way for Mr. Waite's appointment to the highest and most important judicial seat in America; and to this august position he brought a character, talents and attainments equal to the responsibilities of his office.

During his occupancy of the supreme bench Chief Justice Waite steadily rose in the esteem and confidence of the nation. He was not, perhaps, a man of the highest order of genius or of the very highest rank as a jurist. But, on the whole, the office of chief justice was rarely, if ever, more worthily borne than by its latest occupant. He was a man of equable and judicial temper, little disposed, if disposed at all, to look beyond the supreme bench to a possibly higher seat. His death was from pneumonia, and was so sudden as to be announced to the country by the same dispatches which gave first information of his serious sickness. He died peacefully, at his home. His funeral was held first in the hall of the House of Representatives, and afterward from his old residence in Toledo, at which city his remains were finally committed to the tomb.

The death of Chief Justice Waite made way for the return to the supreme judicial office in the United States of some member of the political party which has long been out of power. Since the epoch of the Civil War the court has been filled almost exclusively with judges who, by political affiliation, have belonged to the Republican party. The first distinctly Democratic appointment which has been made in the last quarter of a century was the recent one of Judge Lucius Q. C. Lamar, who by the nomination of President Cleveland was transferred from the secretaryship of the interior to the supreme bench. It has thus happened, in the vicissitude of things, that the two political theories which were opposed to each other in the war for the Union, and are still opposed by party name, have become confluent in the high court of the nation. This circumstance has been to some a source of alarm and prejudice; but the hope may be well entertained that partisan dispositions are less potent and dangerous—if indeed they assert themselves at all—on the supreme bench of the United States. Thus far in its history the court has, as a rule, been as pure in its administration and methods as it has been great in reputation. The muddy waters of party conflict have only occasionally reached as high as the threshold of our honored tribunal; and the fear that it may be otherwise hereafter may hopefully be put

aside as a groundless and spectral chimera of the hour. On May 1, 1888, the President appointed Melville W. Fuller, of Chicago, to the vacant chief justiceship.

The impression produced by the death of Chief Justice Waite had scarcely passed when the decease of another citizen, most noted for high character and great talents, again called the public attention to the rapid disappearance of the nation's most distinguished representatives. On the 18th of April, at the Hoffman House, New York city, Hon. Roscoe Conkling, ex-Senator of the United States, died after a brief and painful illness. A local inflammation resulting in the formation of a pus-sack under the mastoid bone of the skull led to the cutting of the skull in hope of saving Mr. Conkling's life; but he succumbed to the fatal malady and shock of the operation.

ROSCOE CONKLING.

Roscoe Conkling was born in Albany, N. Y., on the 30th of October, 1829. After the completion of an academic course of study he went as a student of law to Utica in 1846. On reaching his majority he was admitted to the bar, and was soon afterward appointed to the office of County Attorney. From the beginning of his career his great talents and remarkable force of character were manifest. He made a profound impression first upon the local and then upon the general society of New York. In 1858 he was Mayor of Utica, and in the same year was sent to the national House of Representatives. He had already become an able politician, and was soon recognized as the leader of the Republican party in his native State. His rise was rapid, and his influence became marked in the affairs of the Government. He served for six years in the lower House, and in 1866 was elected to the Senate. In that body he aspired to leadership and gradually attained it, though not without many struggles and contests with the great men of the epoch. He was twice re-elected Senator—in 1872 and 1878; but in his third term, namely, in 1881, he found himself in such relations with the Garfield administration as induced him to resign

his seat. This step was regarded by many as the mistake of his political life. At any rate, he failed of a re-election, the administration party getting control of the Legislature of New York and sending another in his place. After that date Mr. Conkling retired to private life and took up with the greatest success the practice of his profession in New York city.

Roscoe Conkling was a man of the highest courage and stanchest convictions. He never shone to greater advantage than when leading the forces of General Grant in the Chicago Convention of 1880. He was a born political general. His will and persistency and pride gave him a power which, if it had been tempered with greater urbanity, could hardly have failed to crown his life with the highest honors of the nation. His talents rose to the region of genius, and his presence was magnificent—an inspiration to his friends, a terror to his enemies. As a summary of the results of his career it may be said that at the time of his death none except his eminent rival, Mr. Blaine, might justly contest with him the proud rank of most distinguished private citizen of the United States.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1886, had occurred one of the most serious labor agitations which had ever been witnessed in the United States. It were difficult to present an adequate statement of the causes, general and special, which produced these alarming troubles. Not until after the close of the Civil War did there appear the first symptoms of a renewal, in the New World, of the struggle which has been going on for so long a time in Europe between the laboring classes and the capitalists. It had been hoped that such a conflict would never be renewed in the countries west of the Atlantic. Such a hope, however, was doomed to disappointment. The first well-marked symptoms of the appearance of serious labor strikes and insurrections occurred as early as 1867. The origin of these difficulties was in the coal and iron producing regions of Pennsylvania and in some of the great manufactories of New England. For a while the disturbances produced but little alarm. It was not until the great railroad strike of 1877 that a general apprehension was excited with respect to the unfriendly relations of labor and capital. In the following year much uneasiness existed, but the better times, extending from 1879 to 1882, with the consequent favorable rate of wages, tended to remove, or at least to postpone, the renewal of trouble.

A series of bad crops ensued, and the average ability of the people to purchase was correspondingly diminished. The speculative mania, however, did not cease, and the large amounts of capital withdrawn

from legitimate production and lost in visionary enterprises still further reduced the means of employing labor. Stagnation ensued in business; stocks declined in value; manufactories were closed, and the difficulty of obtaining employment was greatly enhanced.

While these causes, half-natural, half-artificial, were at work, others, wholly fictitious, but powerful in their evil results, began to operate in the creation of strife and animosity. Monopolies grew and flourished to an extent hitherto unknown in the United States. On the other hand, labor discovered the salutary but dangerous power of combination. A rage for organizing took possession of the minds of the laboring men of the country, and to the arrogant front of monopoly was opposed the insurrectionary front of the working classes.

More serious still than the causes here referred to was the introduction into the United States of a large mass of ignorant foreign labor. The worst elements of several European States contributed freely to the manufactories and workshops of America, and a class of ideas utterly un-American became dominant in many of the leading establishments of the country. Communistic theories of society and anarchic views of government began to clash with the more sober republican opinions and practices of the people. To all this must be added the evils and abuses which seem to be incident to the wage system of labor, and are, perhaps, inseparable therefrom. The result has been a growing jealousy of the two great parties to production, the laborer and the capitalist.

The opening of trade for the season of 1886 witnessed a series of strikes and labor imbroglios in all parts of the country. Such troubles were, however, confined for the most part to the cities and towns where labor was aggregated. The first serious trouble occurred on what is known as the Gould system of railways, reaching from the Mississippi to the south-west. A single workman, belonging to the Knights of Labor, and employed on a branch of the Texas Pacific Railway, at that time under a receivership, and therefore beyond the control of Jay Gould and his subordinates, was discharged from his place. This action was resented by the Knights, and the laborers on a great part of the Gould system were ordered to strike. The movement was, for a season, successful, and the transportation of freights from St. Louis to the south-west ceased. Gradually, however, other workmen were substituted for the striking Knights; the movement of freights was resumed, and the strike ended in comparative failure; but this end was not reached until a severe riot in East St. Louis had occasioned the sacrifice of several innocent lives.

Far more alarming was the outbreak in Chicago. In that city the socialistic and anarchic elements were sufficiently powerful to present a bold front to the authorities. Processions bearing red flags and banners, with communistic devices and mottoes, frequently paraded the streets, and were addressed by demagogues who avowed themselves the open enemies of society and the existing order. On the 4th of May a vast crowd of this reckless material collected in a place called the Haymarket, and were about to begin the usual inflammatory proceedings, when a band of policemen, mostly officers, drew near, with the evident purpose of controlling or dispersing the meeting. A terrible scene ensued. Dynamite bombs were thrown from the crowd and exploded among the officers, several of whom were blown to pieces and others shockingly mangled. The mob was, in turn, attacked by the police, and many of the insurgents were shot down. Order was presently restored in the city; several of the leading anarchists were arrested and held for trial on the charge of inciting to murder, and measures were taken to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies as had been witnessed in the Haymarket Square. On the following day a similar, though less dangerous, outbreak occurred in Milwaukee; but in this city the insurrectionary movement was suppressed without serious loss of life. The attention of the American people—let us hope to some good end—was called, as never before, to the dangerous relations existing between the upper and nether sides of our municipal populations.

The summer of 1886 is memorable on account of that great natural phenomenon, known as the Charleston earthquake. On the night of the 31st of August, at ten minutes before ten o'clock, it was discovered at Washington City, and at several other points where weather and signal stations were established, that communications with Charleston, S. C., were suddenly cut off. The discovery was made by inquiries relative to the origin of a shock which had that moment been felt with varying degrees of violence throughout nearly the whole country east of the Mississippi and south of the great lakes. In a few minutes it was found that no telegraphic communication from any side could be had with Charleston, and it was at once perceived that that city had suffered from the convulsion. Measures were hastily devised for further investigation, and the result showed that the worst apprehensions were verified. Without a moment's warning the city had been rocked and rent to its very foundations. Hardly a building in the limits of Charleston or in the country surrounding had escaped serious injury, and perhaps one-half of all were in a state of semi-wreck or total ruin.

No such scene of devastation and terror from a like cause had ever before been witnessed within the limits of the United States.

Many scientists of national reputation hurried to the scene and made a careful scrutiny of the phenomenon with a view of contributing something to the exact knowledge of mankind respecting the causes and character of earthquakes. One or two points were determined with tolerable accuracy. One was, that the point of origin, called the epicenter, of the great convulsion had been at a place about twenty miles from Charleston, and that the motion of the earth immediately over this center had been nearly up and down—that is, vertical. A second point tolerably well established was that the isoseismic lines, or lines of equal disturbance, might be drawn around the epicenter in circles very nearly concentric, and that the circle of greatest disturbance was at some distance from the center. Still a third item of knowledge tolerably well established was that away from the epicenter —as illustrated in the ruins of Charleston—the agitation of the earth was not in the nature of a single shock or convulsion, as a dropping or sliding of the region to one side, but rather a series of very quick and violent oscillations, by which the central country of the disturbance was in the course of some five minutes settled somewhat to seaward.

The whole coast in the central region of the disturbance was modified with respect to the sea, and the ocean itself was thrown into turmoil for leagues from the shore. The people of the city were in a state of utmost consternation. The people fled from their falling houses to the public squares and parks and far into the country. Afraid to return into the ruins they threw up tents and light booths for protection and abode for weeks away from their homes. The convulsion was by far the greatest that this continent has experienced within the historical epoch. Nothing before in the limits of our knowledge has been at all comparable with it in extent and violence except the great earthquake of New Madrid, in 1811. The disaster to Charleston served to bring out some of the better qualities of our civilization. Assistance came from all quarters, and contributions poured in for the support and encouragement of the afflicted people. For several weeks a series of diminishing shocks continued to terrify the citizens and paralyze the efforts at restoration. But it was discovered in the course of time that these shocks were only the dying away of the great convulsion, and that they gave cause for hope of entire cessation rather than continued alarm. In a lapse of a few months the *débris* was cleared away, business was resumed, and the people were again safe in their homes.

On the 4th of March, 1887, the second session of the Forty-ninth Congress expired by statutory limitation. The work of the body had not been so fruitful of results as had been desired and anticipated by the friends of the government; but some important legislation had been effected. On the question of the tariff nothing of value was accomplished. True, a serious measure of revenue reform had been brought forward at an early date in the session, but owing to the opposition of that wing of the Democratic party headed by Hon. Samuel J. Randall, and committed to the doctrine of protection, as well as to the antagonism of the Republican majority in the Senate, the act failed of adoption. In fact, by the beginning of 1887 it had become apparent that the existing political parties could not be forced to align on the issue of free trade and tariff, and as a result no legislation looking to any actual reform in the current revenue system of the United States could be carried through Congress.

On the question of extending the Pension List, however, the case was different. A great majority of both parties could always be counted on to favor such measures as looked to the increase of benefits to the soldiers. At the first, only a limited number of pensions had been granted, and these only to actually disabled and injured veterans of the War for the Union. With the lapse of time, however, and the relaxation of party allegiance, it became more and more important to each of the parties to secure and hold the soldier vote, without which it was felt that neither could maintain ascendency in the government. Nor can it be denied that genuine patriotic sentiment and gratitude of the nation to its defenders coincided in this respect with political ambition and selfishness. The Arrears of Pensions Act, making up to those who were already recipients of pensions such amounts as would have accrued if the benefit had dated from the time of disability, instead of from the time of granting the pension, was passed in 1879, and at the same time the list of beneficiaries was greatly enlarged.

The measure presented in the Forty-ninth Congress was designed to extend the pension list so as to include all regularly enlisted and honorably discharged soldiers of the Civil War who had become in whole or in part dependent upon the aid of others for their maintenance and welfare. The measure was known as the Dependent Pensions Bill, and though a few had the courage to oppose the enactment of a law which appeared to fling away the bounty of the government to the deserving and the undeserving, the evil and the just alike, and to compel the worthy and honorable recipients of pensions who had actually suffered in the war to rank themselves in the same category

with the thriftless, the unpatriotic, and the improvident, who, having been in the army, had afterward come to grief through their own lack of enterprise and frugality; yet a majority was easily obtained for the measure in both Houses, and the act was passed. President Cleveland, however, interposed his veto, and the proposed law fell to the ground. A strenuous effort was made in the House of Representatives to pass the bill over the veto; but the movement failed.

By far the most important and noted piece of legislation of the session was incorporated in the act known as the Inter-State Commerce Bill. For some fifteen years complaints against the methods and management of the railways of the United States had been heard on many sides, and in cases not a few the complaints had originated in actual abuses, some of which were willful, but most were merely incidental to the development of a system so vast and, on the whole, so beneficial to the public. In such a state of affairs the lasting benefit is always forgotten in the accidental hurt. That large class of people who, in despite of the teachings of history, still believe in the cure of all things by law, and that mankind are always about to perish for want of more legislation, became clamorous in their demand that Congress should take the railways by the throat and compel them to accept what may be called the system of uniformity as it respects all charges for service rendered. It was believed in Congress that to take up this call, and champion the alleged cause of the people, would be one of the most popular measures of the period. The Inter-State Commerce Bill was, accordingly, prepared, with a multitude of lengthy and involved clauses requiring a commission of great lawyers for their interpretation. It was enacted that all freight carriage across State lines within the Union should be at the same rate per hundred for all distances, and between all places, and under substantially the same conditions, and that passenger fares should be uniform for all persons. It must be borne in mind that, in the very nature of things, railways are unable to carry freight at as small a rate per hundred, or passengers at as small a charge per mile, between places approximate as between places at great distances. It must also be remembered that in some regions it is many times more expensive to build and operate a railroad than in others. To carry one of these great thoroughfares over the Rocky Mountains is a very different thing from stretching a similar track across the level prairies of Illinois. It must still further be considered that, in the nature of the case, competition will do its legitimate and inevitable work at an earlier date and more thoroughly between great cities, even when remotely situated, than between unim-

portant points, however near together. The traffic and travel between two villages is not sufficient to create competition among the carriers. It is as absurd to suppose that railway tariffs can be the same between New York and Chicago as they are between two Missouri towns, as it is to suppose that butter can command the same price in an Iowa village that it does in the Quincy Market of Boston. What should be said of an attempt in Congress to make the price of wheat and pork uniform throughout the United States?

The Inter-State Commerce Bill was conceived against all the natural, manifest and undeniable principles of the commercial world. It was passed with the belief that all discriminations in the charges made by railways doing business in more than one State could be prevented by law. It was passed as if to amend or abrogate those natural laws of trade and traffic which in their kind are as absolute, and as beneficial, as the law of gravitation. It was passed with the ulterior design of securing to its promoters the support of that ignorant and embittered race of men whose prejudices are out of all proportion to their knowledge of human rights, or their recognition of the paramount interests of the whole people. It was passed under the pernicious anti-democratic theory of governmental paternalism, which says that men are infants or imbeciles, unable to care for themselves unless they are fed and led and coddled by some motherly government of which they are the irresponsible offspring. It is safe to say that no other measure ever adopted by the American Congress has been so difficult of application, or has thrown the commercial affairs of the country into so great disorder. The one redeeming feature of the case has been, and is, that they who, by the passage of so preposterous a series of enactments, thought to crown themselves with laurel, came forth wearing a diadem of weeds and cactus.

During the whole of Cleveland's administration the public mind was swayed and excited by the movements of politics. The universality of partisan newspapers, the combination in their columns of all the news of the world with the invectives, misrepresentations, and countercharges of party leaders, kept political questions constantly uppermost, to the detriment of social progress and industrial interests. Scarcely had President Cleveland entered upon his office as chief magistrate when the question of the succession to the Presidency was agitated. The echoes of the election of 1884 had not died away before the rising murmur of that of 1888 was heard.

By the last year of the current administration it was seen that there would be no general break-up of the existing parties. It was

also perceived that the issues between them must be *made*, rather than found in the existing state of affairs. The sentiment in the United States in favor of the Constitutional prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors had become somewhat extended and intensified since the last quadrennial election. But the discerning eye might perceive that the real issue was between the Republican and Democratic parties, and that the questions involved were to be rather those of the past than of the future.

One issue, however, presented itself which had a living and practical relation to affairs, and that was the question of PROTECTION TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY. Since the campaign of 1884, the agitation had been gradually extended. At the opening of the session, in 1887, the President, in his annual message to Congress, departed from all precedent, and devoted the whole document to the discussion of the single question of a *Reform of the Revenue System* of the United States. The existing rates of duty on imported articles of commerce had so greatly augmented the income of the Government that a large surplus had accumulated, and was still accumulating, in the treasury of the United States. This fact was made the basis of the President's argument in favor of a new system of revenue, or at least an ample reduction in the tariff rates under the old. It was immediately charged by the Republicans that the project in question meant the substitution of the system of free trade in the United States as against the system of protective duties. The question thus involved was made the bottom issue in the Presidential campaign of 1888.

As to the nominees of the various parties, it was from the first a foregone conclusion that Mr. Cleveland would be nominated for re-election by the Democrats. The result justified the expectation. The Democratic National Convention was held in St. Louis, on the 5th day of June, 1888, and Mr. Cleveland was re-nominated by acclamation. For the Vice-Presidential nomination there was a considerable contest; but, after some balloting, the choice fell on ex-Senator Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio. The Republican National Convention was held in Chicago, on the 19th day of June. Many candidates were ardently pressed upon the body, and the contest was long and spirited. It was believed, up to the time of the Convention, that Mr. Blaine, who was evidently the favorite of a great majority, would be again nominated for the Presidency. But the antagonisms which that statesman had awakened in his own party made it imprudent to bring him forward again as the nominee. His name was accordingly not presented to the Convention. The most prominent candidates were Senator John Sherman, of Ohio;

Judge Walter Q. Gresham, of Chicago; Chauncey M. Depew, of New York; ex-Governor Russel A. Alger, of Michigan; ex-Senator Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana; and Senator William B. Allison, of Iowa. The voting was continued to the eighth ballot, when the choice fell upon Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana. In the evening Levi P. Morton, of New York, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency on the first ballot.

In the meantime the Prohibition party had held its National Convention at Indianapolis, and on the 30th of May had nominated for the Presidency General Clinton B. Fisk, of New Jersey, and for the Vice-Presidency John A. Brooks, of Missouri. The Democratic platform declared for a reform of the revenue system of the United States, and re-affirmed the principle of adjusting the tariff on imports with strict regard to the actual needs of governmental expenditure. The Republican platform declared also for a reform of the tariff schedule, but at the same time stoutly affirmed the maintenance of the protective system, as such, as a part of the permanent policy of the United States. Both parties deferred to the patriotic sentiment of the country in favor of the soldiers, their rights and interests, and both endeavored by the usual incidental circumstances of the hour to gain the advantage of the other before the American people. The Prohibitionists entered the campaign on the distinct proposition that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors should be prohibited throughout the United States by Constitutional amendment. To this was added a clause in favor of extending the right of suffrage to women.

As the canvass progressed during the summer and autumn of 1888 it became evident that the result was in doubt. The contest was exceedingly close. As in 1880 and 1884, the critical States were New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Indiana. In all of the other Northern States the Republicans were almost certain to win, while the Democrats were equally certain of success in all the South. In the last weeks of the campaign General Harrison grew in favor, and his party gained perceptibly to the close. The result showed success for the Republican candidate. He received 233 electoral votes, against 168 votes for Mr. Cleveland. The latter, however, appeared to a better advantage on the popular count, having a considerable majority over General Harrison. General Fisk, the Prohibition candidate, received nearly three hundred thousand votes; but under the system of voting no electoral vote of any State was obtained for him in the so-called "College," by which the actual choice is made. As soon as the result was known the excitement attendant upon the campaign subsided and political questions gave place to other interests.

The last days of Cleveland's administration and of the Fiftieth Congress were signalized by the admission into the Union of Four New States, making the number forty-two. Since the incoming of Colorado, in 1876, no State had been added to the Republic. Meanwhile the tremendous tides of population had continued to flow to the west and north-west, rapidly filling up the great Territories. Of these the greatest was Dakota, with its area of 150,932 square miles. In 1887 the question of dividing the Territory by a line running east and west was agitated, and the measure finally prevailed. Steps were taken by the people of both sections for admission into the Union. Montana, with her 145,776 square miles of territory, had meanwhile acquired a sufficient population; and Washington Territory, with its area of 69,994 square miles, also knocked for admission. In the closing days of the Fiftieth Congress a bill was passed raising all these four Territories —South Dakota, North Dakota, Montana, and Washington — to the plane of Statehood. The Act contemplated the adoption of State Constitutions, and a proclamation of admission by the next President. It thus happened that the honor of bringing in this great addition to the States of the Union was divided between the outgoing and incoming administrations.

Another Act of Congress was also of national importance. Hitherto the government had been administered through seven departments, at the head of each of which was placed a Cabinet officer, the seven together constituting the advisers of the President. No provision for such an arrangement exists in the Constitution of the United States; but the statutes of the Nation provide for such a system as most in accordance with the republican form of government. Early in 1889 a measure was brought forward in Congress and adopted for the institution of a new department, to be called the Department of Agriculture. Practically the measure involved the elevation of what had previously been an Agricultural Bureau in the Department of the Interior to the rank of a Cabinet office. Among foreign nations France has been conspicuous for the patronage which the Government has given to the agricultural pursuits of that country. Hitherto in the United States, though agriculture has been the greatest of all the producing interests of the people, it has been neglected for more political and less useful departments of American life and enterprise. By this act of Congress the Cabinet offices were increased in number to eight instead of seven.

CHAPTER LXXII.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION, 1889——.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, twenty-third President of the United States, was born at North Bend, Ohio, on the 20th of August, 1833. He is the son of John Scott Harrison, a prominent citizen of his native State; grandson of President William Henry Harrison; great-grandson of Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence. In countries where attention is paid to honorable lineage the circumstances of General Harrison's descent would be considered of much importance; but in America little attention is paid to one's ancestry, and more to himself.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Harrison's early life was passed as that of other American boys, in attendance at school and at home duties on the farm. He was a student at the institution called Farmers' College for two years. Afterwards he attended Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, and was graduated therefrom in June, 1852. He took in marriage the daughter of Dr. John W. Scott, President of the University. After a course of study he entered the profession of law, removing to Indianapolis and establishing himself in that city. With the outbreak of the War he became a soldier of the Union, and rose to the rank of Brevet Brigadier-General of Volunteers. Before the close of the War he was elected Reporter of Decisions of the Supreme Court of Indiana.

In the period following the Civil War General Harrison rose to distinction as a civilian. In 1876 he was the unsuccessful candidate of the Republican party for Governor of Indiana. In 1881 he was elected to the United States Senate, where he won the reputation of a leader and statesman. In 1884 his name was prominently mentioned in con-

NAVY—BENJAMIN F TRACY.
INTERIOR—JOHN W NOBLE.
POSTMASTER-GENERAL JOHN WANAMAKER.

AGRICULTURE—JEREMIAH M RUSK.
THE PRESIDENT.
TREASURY—CHARLES FOSTER.

STATE—JOHN W. FOSTER.
ATTORNEY-GENERAL—WM. H. H. MILLER.
WAR—STEPHEN B. ELKINS.

EX-PRESIDENT HARRISON AND HIS CABINET.

nection with the Presidential nomination of his party, but Mr. Blaine was successful. After the lapse of four years, however, it was found at Chicago that General Harrison, more than any other, combined in himself all the elements of a successful candidate; and the event justified the choice of the party in making him the standard-bearer in the ensuing campaign.

General Harrison was, in accordance with the usages of the Government, inaugurated President on the 4th of March, 1889. He had succeeded better than any of his predecessors in keeping his own counsels during the interim between his election and the inauguration. No one had discerned his purposes, and all waited with interest the expressions of his Inaugural Address. In that document he set forth the policy which he should favor as the chief executive, recommending the same general measures which the Republican party had advocated during the campaign.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

On the day following the inaugural ceremonies President Harrison sent in the nominations for his Cabinet officers, as follows: for Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; for Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; for Secretary of War, Redfield Proctor, of Vermont; for Secretary of the Navy, Benjamin F. Tracy, of New York; for Postmaster-General, John Wanamaker, of Pennsylvania; for Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, of Missouri; for Attorney-General, William H. H. Miller, of Indiana; and for Secretary of Agriculture — the new department — Jeremiah Rusk, of Wisconsin. These appointments were immediately confirmed by the Senate, and the members of the new administration assumed their respective official duties.

Within two months after Harrison's inauguration an event occurred which might well recall to the mind of the American people the striking incidents in the history of the Revolutionary Epoch. The event in question was the great Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of Washington, first President of the United States. The same was commemorated in many parts of the country; but the supreme

event was in New York city, and the ceremonies connected therewith were associated, as far as practicable, with the scenes of the first inauguration. These circumstances may well call forth not only some descriptive account of the celebration itself, but also a brief review of those events and incidents on which the same was based.

The period extending from the year 1776 to the year 1789 was marked in the colonial history of the United States by several crises, different in kind, but each so well defined in character as to be worthy of commemoration by the people of another and distant age. These crises were:

1. The Declaration of Independence.
2. The Formation of the Constitution of the United States.
3. The Adoption of the Constitution.
4. The Institution of the New Government.

The dates of these successive events are well known, the first occurring in midsummer of 1776; the second, in the summer of 1787; the third, in the years 1787 and 1788; and the fourth, in 1789. It is to the events of the last-named year that the attention of the reader will now be more particularly called.

As we have said, each of these crises has a philosophical place and character in American history, and the reader may be interested to note the same as preliminary to an understanding of the Centennial exercises in New York city.

First, the Declaration of Independence was a *democratic* and *popular* revolution. It was the act by which the allegiance of the old Thirteen Colonies to the mother country was broken. It was essentially destructive in its character. The first stages of all revolutions have this distinctive aspect. They destroy. It remains for a subsequent movement to rebuild. The revolution, in the first place, abolishes and destroys an existing order. It implies that the people have borne as long as possible some system which presses upon them as if it were of chains and fetters. It is to break the chains, to throw off the fetters, that the revolution begins its career. Sometimes it is carried forward under a government which is able to survive the shock; more frequently it attacks the government itself, and, if successful, overthrows it. Such was the case with the destructive Revolution of 1776. It was leveled against the existing order, and was most happily successful.

Second, it was not long after the achievement of independence until the Revolutionary patriots, at least the more thoughtful and conserva-

tive of them, came to see that mere independence was not enough; that mere destruction of popular abuses could not suffice for the future of America. Acting from these sentiments the Fathers began to consult about re-building, or building anew, a structure in which civil liberty in America might find an abiding-place. These discussions began almost as soon as independence was clearly gained. Within a year after the treaty of peace Washington and his friends began to discuss the feasibility of a better system of government. Conferences were held first at Mount Vernon, then at Annapolis, and finally a great convention of delegates was assembled at Philadelphia. This occurred, as we have said, in the summer of 1787. The result of the labors of this convention is well known. That strange compromise called the Constitution of the United States was produced and signed by the delegates, with Washington as their president. This, then, was the epoch of the Formation of the Constitution.

Third, immediately after this event a period of political agitation, the first real and general agitation known in the history of the United States, occurred. The new Constitution laid before the States was the bottom fact from which the stormy discussions of the next two years sprang. Should that Constitution be adopted? Or should it be rejected and the old confederative system of government be continued? On these questions there was a division of parties. The controversy waxed violent. All the old Thirteen States were shaken from center to boundary line.

In a former part of the present work* the story of the Adoption of the Constitution by the several States has been narrated; nor is it necessary here to repeat the well-known account of how State after State carried a majority of its delegates for the new system of government. This epoch of agitation, of controversy, and the final adoption is the third of the three crises to which we have made reference as belonging to our Revolutionary history.

Fourth, and last of all, after the Constitution was adopted by nine or ten of the States, came the striking event of the Institution of the New Government. The paper model of that Government existed in the Constitution itself. How Washington was unanimously chosen as first chief magistrate of the new republic is known to all the world. A Congress was constituted by the election of a House of Representatives and a Senate, in accordance with the provision of the new instrument. All things were made ready, as an architect might prepare the materials for a structure. Then came the actual building of the

*See pp. 356–362.

temple. The scene was in old New York; the New York of one hundred years ago.

It is worth while, before proceeding with the account of the Washingtonian inauguration, and of the commemorative events of 1889, to notice briefly the manner and spirit in which the preceding centennials were observed by the people of the United States. We have already seen with what enthusiasm the Centennial Anniversary of the great democratic Revolution of 1776 was marked by the masses. The people of the United States are warm in their affections toward the destructive revolution which was accomplished by the Declaration of Independence and the war which followed. There can be no doubt that, so far as the masses are concerned, they have taken more interest, not only in our own independence and the means by which it was accomplished, but in the destructive aspect of all other revolutionary movements. With what zeal and success the Centennial Anniversary of Independence was observed in the city of Philadelphia has already been narrated in a previous chapter of the present work.* The second Centennial—that is, the Centennial of the Formation of the Constitution, did not awaken in the United States any considerable degree of enthusiasm. From this it is to be plainly inferred that the people as a whole rejoice more in the fact of independence, in the destruction of old forms, and in the events by which independence was achieved, than they do in the structural part of the history of the country—that is, in the history of those new institutions which have been planted in place of the old.

There was in the city of Philadelphia, where the Constitution was adopted, an effort in 1887 to commemorate the anniversary, and some local interest was excited in the event; but there was no wide-spread zeal, no throbbing of the popular heart over the coming of the hundredth year of our national charter. The same may be said with respect to observing the intermediate period of the adoption of the Constitution. No celebrations of more than local importance were had in any of the States in commemoration of this important event. At the first it was even doubted whether the era of the institution of a government itself, dating from the 30th of April, 1789, could awaken sufficient public enthusiasm to warrant a national celebration. Events such as the formation of our Constitution, its adoption by the people of the States, and the institution of the new form instead of the old are not sufficiently spectacular and heroic to set the masses aglow, to produce the requisite heat of a great national commemoration. Never-

* See pp. 563–628.

theless in the case of the institution of the Government it was believed by the people of New York city that the event could not by any means be allowed to pass without an effort to impress upon the minds of the present generation the great events of a century gone by.

Sufficiently striking in all respects was the contrast between the actual inauguration of Washington and the ceremonies attendant upon the beginning of the Government of the United States in 1789, on the one hand, and the commemorative exercises after the lapse of a century. It may be appropriate in this connection to review briefly the circumstances of Washington's inauguration in order that the reader may have the contrast well in mind.

According to the Constitution of the United States the new Government which had been provided for was to have been instituted on the 4th of March—the day which has ever since been retained as the quadrennial beginning of the successive administrations.

But the first setting up of the Government was attended with many difficulties. The seat of the new Republic, so far as its governmental machinery was concerned, was to be, at least for the time, in New York city. To reach that colonial metropolis, especially in the early spring, was a difficult and tedious process; the members of Congress had to come from what were then distant regions to reach the place appointed. So the work lagged. On the 25th of March, 1789, a quorum had not yet appeared in either House of Congress. Nor should the reader forget that the old Congress of the Confederation had not yet expired. It met from day to day in the old Federal Hall in Wall Street. The coming of a greater Congress was at hand. Near the close of the month Fisher Ames wrote to a friend in Boston, as follows:

> We have 26 representatives, and as 30 are necessary to make a quorum we are still in a state of inaction. . . . I am inclined to believe that the languor of the old Confederation is transfused into the members of the new Congress. This city has not caught the spirit, or rather the want of spirit, I am vexing myself to express to you. Their ball will cost £20,000, York money. They are preparing fireworks and a splendid barge for the President, which last will cost £200 to £300. We lose £1,000 a day revenue. We lose credit, spirit, every thing. The public will forget the Government before it is born. The resurrection of the infant will come before its birth. Happily the federal interest is strong in Congress. The old Congress still continues to meet, and it seems to be doubtful whether the old Government is dead or the new one alive. God deliver us speedily from this puzzling state, or prepare my will, if it subsists much longer, for I am in a fever to think of it."

On the 1st of April, however, the House of Representatives had a quorum. Shortly afterwards the Senate also was sufficiently full to proceed to business. On the 6th of April both Houses were organized in the same Hall where the old Confederative Congress of the Colonies had been sitting. It will be remembered that this so-called Federal

OLD FEDERAL HALL, WALL STREET, AT THE HEAD OF BROAD, 1789.

Hall was the old historic City Hall of New York, which had been used as the seat of legislative affairs since the close of the seventeenth century.

The Constitution had devolved upon Congress the duty of opening and counting the ballots for President of the United States. This was first of all attended to. It was found that George Washington, of

Virginia, had a unanimous vote from all the States. The next highest on the list was John Adams, of Massachusetts, who, as the Constitution then stood, was to serve as Vice-President. But neither the President-elect nor the Vice-President-elect had as yet arrived in New York. Events in those days went forward like a stately minuet. There was neither hurrying nor excitement; or if the latter existed it was suppressed under the formal regularities of the times.

Charles Thompson was dispatched by Congress to Mount Vernon to notify General Washington of his election to the Presidency. The messenger rode on horseback. For fifteen years he had been secretary of Congress. Nor is it uninteresting to notice that his wife, Hannah Harrison, was a sister of Benjamin Harrison, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, great-grandfather of him who was destined, in the course of events, to be the Centennial President of the United States. Washington was thus notified, and preparations were begun for his departure to the seat of government.

Sylvanus Bourne was a like messenger to Vice-President Adams. The latter left home sooner than did Washington, and presently, on the 20th of April, arrived at New York. But the General's coming was delayed until late in April. Even then his progress was slow; the people retarded his course. In the proper place we have already noticed the manner in which he was received *en route*—how, especially at Trenton, passing under triumphal arches, thirteen young girls strewed the way before him with flowers. Washington's course from Trenton was across New Jersey by the old stage-route to Elizabethtown, where he was met by a deputation from Congress to escort him to the city.

The passage of the harbor was sufficiently beautified with civic ceremonies; the boats were decorated with flags, and gay barges glided through the shining water. The President himself crossed over in a barge. It is said that every vessel in the great harbor was in full dress of streamers and flags, while at several points groups of singers saluted the President with music as he passed. Governor George Clinton, of New York, had been commissioned to receive Washington at the ferry. The stairs were carpeted leading up from the water to the shore; there Clinton received the Father of his Country. As soon as Washington's figure rose to view the assembled people broke out in shouts long continued and the excitement swirled through the city when it was known that the new President had really arrived. This was on the 23d of April, 1789.

New York at the time of which we speak was limited to the lower

end of Manhattan Island. It was no more than a speck in comparison with the Centennial Metropolis of the nation. Its northern limits were marked by the building of the New York *Times*. Immediately north of this lay a lake, called the Collect Pond, about sixty feet in depth, covering that part of the city now occupied by the Tombs. It is said that the capitalists, even the adventurers, of that day, were without faith as to the future extension of the city northward. The population was approximately forty thousand. Water was distributed to the citizens in hydrants and drawn from what was known as the Old Tea-Water Pump standing at the head of Pearl Street. No system of public street cleaning had been adopted. The streets were lighted with oil lamps. Much of the work was done by slaves, and slave auctions were at that time still a common occurrence.

General Washington was conducted to the residence which had been prepared for him in Franklin Square, and a programme was made out by Congress for the inauguration, which was set for the 30th of April. The stately and yet successful formalities of the occasion are fully set forth in the following memorandum from the first records of Congress:

April 29th, 1789. The committees of both houses of Congress, appointed to take order for conducting the ceremonial of the formal reception, &c., of the President of the United States, on Thursday next, have agreed to the following order thereon, viz.:

That General Webb, Colonel Smith, Lieutenant Colonel Fish, Lieutenant Colonel Franks, Major L'Enfant, Major Bleecker, and Mr. John R. Livingston, be requested to serve as assistants on the occasion.

That a chair be placed in the Senate Chamber for the President of the United States. That a chair be placed in the Senate Chamber for the Vice-President, to the right of the President's chair; and that the Senators take their seats on that side of the chamber on which the Vice-President's chair shall be placed. That a chair be placed in the Senate Chamber for the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the left of the President's chair—and that the Representatives take their seats on that side of the chamber on which the Speaker's chair shall be placed.

That seats be provided in the Senate Chamber sufficient to accommodate the late president of Congress, the governor of the Western territory, the five persons being the heads of three great departments, the Minister Plenipotentiary of France, the Encargado de negocios of Spain, the chaplains of Congress, the persons in the suite of the President, and also to accommodate the following Public Officers of the State, viz.: The Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chancellor, the Chief Justice, and other judges of the Supreme Court, and the Mayor of the city. That one of the assistants wait on these gentlemen, and inform them that seats are provided for their accommodation, and also to signify to them that no precedence of seats is intended, and that no salutation is expected from them on their entrance into, or their departure from, the Senate Chamber.

That the members of both houses assemble in their respective Chambers precisely at twelve o'clock, and that the representatives preceded by the Speaker, and attended by their clerk, and other officers, proceed to the Senate Chamber, there to be received by the Vice-President and the senators rising.

That the Committees attend the President from his residence to the Senate Chamber, and that he be there received by the Vice-President, the senators and representatives rising, and be by the Vice-President conducted to his chair.

That after the President shall be seated in his chair, and the Vice-President, senators and representatives shall be again seated, the Vice-President shall announce to the President, that the members of both houses will attend him to be present at his taking the Oath of Office required by the Constitution. To the end that the Oath of Office may be administered to the President in the most public manner, and that the greatest number of the people of the United States, and without distinction, may be witnesses to the solemnity, that therefore the Oath be administered in the outer gallery adjoining to the Senate Chamber.

That when the President shall proceed to the gallery to take the Oath, he be attended by the Vice-President, and be followed by the Chancellor of the State, and pass through the middle door; that the Senators pass through the door on the right; and the Representatives, preceded by the Speaker, pass through the door on the left; and such of the persons who shall have been admitted into the Senate Chamber, and may be desirous to go into the gallery, are then also to pass through the door on the right. When the President shall have taken the Oath, and returned into the Senate Chamber, attended by the Vice-President, and shall be seated in his chair, that the Senators and the Representatives also return into the Senate Chamber, and that the Vice-President and they resume their respective seats.

Both Houses having resolved to accompany the President, after he shall have taken the Oath, to St. Paul's Chapel, to hear divine service, to be performed by the chaplain of Congress, that the following order of procession be observed, viz.: The door-keeper and messenger of the House of Representatives. The clerk of the House. The Representatives. The Speaker. The President, with the Vice-President at his left hand. The Senators. The Secretary of the Senate. The door-keeper, and messenger of the Senate.

That a pew be reserved for the President, Vice-President, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Committees; and that pews be also reserved sufficient for the reception of the Senators and Representatives.

That after divine service shall be performed, the President be received at the door of the Church, by the Committees, and by them attended in carriages to his residence.

That it be intrusted to the assistants to take proper precautions for the keeping the avenues to the Hall open, and that for that purpose, they wait on his Excellency, the Governor of this State, and in the name of the Committees request his aid, by an order of recommendation to the Civil Officers, or militia of the city, to attend and serve on the occasion, as he shall judge most proper.

New York, as New York then was, had made great preparations to receive the Chief Magistrate. On the morning of the 30th, a national salute was fired; the bells burst out merrily from all the

steeples of the city. The newspapers of the day described the scene as especially impressive. The people were called to attend church at nine o'clock in the morning. The beginning of the inaugural procession was set for noon-day; and promptly at that hour the President's carriage, followed by a train of attendants, proceeded from the house in Cherry Street, which had been appointed as his residence, through what was then Queen, Great Dock, and Broad Streets to the Old Federal Hall, where the ceremonies of the inauguration were to take place. The order of march is worthy of commemoration; for this, as well as many other circumstances, tends to set in strongest contrast the first inauguration with that of its Centennial recurrence.

Col. MORGAN LEWIS,
Attended by two officers.

Capt. STAKES,
With the Troop of Horse.

Artillery.
Maj. VAN HORNE.

Grenadiers, under Capt. HARSIN.
German Grenadiers, very gayly attired, under Capt. SCRIBA.
Major BICKER.

The Infantry of the Brigade.
Major CHRYSLIE.

Sheriff.

Committee of the Senate.

Civil Officers. { Assistants. { President-elect, In a chariot drawn by four horses. His Suite. } Assistants. } Civil Officers.

Committee of the Representatives.

Hon. Mr. JAY, Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

Gen. KNOX, Secretary of War.

Chancellor LIVINGSTON.

Several gentlemen of distinction.

Arrangements had been made for the reception of Washington in the Senate Hall. Thither he was conducted, and, when seated, was addressed by Vice-President Adams. After these preliminaries, the

BARON STEUBEN. GOV. ARTHUR ST. CLAIR. SECRETARY SAMUEL A. OTIS. ROGER SHERMAN. GOV. GEORGE CLINTON.
CHANCELLOR ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON. GEORGE WASHINGTON. JOHN ADAMS. GEN. HENRY KNOX.

WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH AS PRESIDENT,

APRIL 30, 1789. ON THE SITE OF THE PRESENT TREASURY BUILDING, WALL STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

President-elect, with the Chief Officers of the new Republic, the Senate and House of Representatives, repaired by the left and right to the balcony in front of the Hall, looking down in Wall Street, where the assembled throng awaited the administration of the oath of office. To this duty Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, Chief-justice of New York, had been appointed. Perhaps no scene of public induction into office was ever more solemn or impressive. The chief figure was that of the Father of his Country, conspicuous by his height, and still more conspicuous by the grandeur and impressiveness of his demeanor. The oath of office was administered on the Bible, opened before Washington, whereon he laid his hand, and to which he pressed his lips at the conclusion of the oath. This done, Chancellor Livingston raised his voice, and with a gesture cried: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States." Immediately afterward the throng burst out in wild cheering; shouts echoed through the city, and the bells rang out their peal of gladness at the auspicious event. Returning to the Senate Chamber Washington delivered an inaugural address, not elaborate and formal, as such papers have become in the course of our history, but brief, and affecting to those who heard it.*

As soon as the exercises at the Federal Hall were over Washington, attended by the chief officers of the government, and the Senate, repaired to the old St. Paul's Chapel, where divine services were held, and a sermon preached by Bishop Provost of the Protestant Episcopal Church. This concluded the formal exercises of the day. With the coming of night the city was brilliantly illuminated. The people poured into the streets; shouts rang out on the evening air, and a universal joy seemed to prevail, which was but the conspicuous example of the common rejoicing in all the States.

It is fitting to note once more that Washington furnishes the only purely and absolutely non-partisan figure in the history of the United States of America. Already in the Colonial times local

*It is worthy of note that Washington, at the time of the inauguration, though only 57 years of age, was already an old man. He had gone into the Revolution a young man, but was now aged, gray, enfeebled by the strenuous services and great anxieties to which he had been subjected through a period of fourteen years. He was still erect, majestic, firm in his step, with a certain serene dignity of countenance which has hardly had a parallel among all the great men who have risen on this side of the sea. But it was noticed by those in the Senate Chamber, on the day of his inauguration, that his voice was not a little enfeebled. He spoke in a low tone, and could be heard only by those who were sitting near. Perhaps the premonitory shadows of the serious and long-continued illness, which fell upon him within two months after his inauguration, were already gathering on the day of his accession to the Presidency.

OLD ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

divisions had given rise to local partisan controversy, and at the time of Washington's inauguration—even before that inauguration—a great dispute, relative first of all to the Constitution itself, whether it should or should not be, and after that, relative to the *construction* of the great instrument, had broken out in all the States. Little jets of flame were already springing through the placid surface of public affairs, indicative of the great Federal and Democratic partisan disputes which have hardly yet ceased to agitate the American mind. But in this Washington had no part or lot. He stood proudly above it. His theory was to introduce into his administration the diverse elements of political belief, and to harmonize under his benign, fatherly influence the

opposing forces which threatened to distract, if not to destroy, the very system to which he had now pledged his all.

Turning from the actual inauguration of the first President to the commemoration of that event one hundred years afterward, we notice first of all the incipiency of the enterprise. As early as March of 1883, a resolution was introduced into the Legislature of Tennessee requesting Congress to make a suitable appropriation for the observance of the Centenary of the American government. The measure is said to have originated with Colonel J. E. Peyton of New Jersey, who, though an Englishman by birth, had for a number of years been prominent as a mover and deviser of Centennial celebrations. It is perhaps true that to him the first movement in favor of the commemorative exercises of 1889 must be attributed.

Practically, however, the celebration originated with the New York Historical Society. In March of 1884 that body passed a resolution to undertake the enterprise. The project was then espoused by the Chamber of Commerce; and Congress and the State of New York were asked to indorse and support the measure. So far as the citizens of New York were concerned, their first public interest was excited by Colonel Peyton and Algernon S. Sullivan. A meeting was held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, on the 1st of September, 1884, and formal steps began to be taken for the celebration. It was not, however, until 1887, and near the close of that year, that a committee of forty-nine citizens, with Mayor Abram S. Hewitt as chairman, was appointed for general supervision of the project. Many prominent citizens of New York, capitalists, military men, merchants, and others espoused the cause, and by the beginning of 1888 the enterprise was well under way.

At an early date it was determined that the commemorative celebration should conform as nearly as practicable to the actual inauguration of Washington. To this end it was decided to invite the President of the United States, whoever he should be, to visit New York, going approximately by the same route which had carried Washington thither one hundred years ago, to be received in like manner, conducted across the harbor in a similar vessel, and to be presented in Wall Street, on the very spot where Washington was inaugurated, and where a Centennial oration commemorative of the progress and glory of the American people was to be delivered. About this central idea all the other features of the celebration were clustered. The event was totally different in character from the great expositions which had been connected with most Centennial celebrations. The Jubilees of France; the great World's Fairs of England; and our own Cen-

tennial Exposition at Philadelphia, in 1876, were of this kind. But in the case of the commemoration of the American government, now undertaken, the feature of exposition was wholly omitted. Every thing was made truly commemorative—designed to point backward to the events of a century ago, and to evoke, through the shadows of several generations, a vivid recollection of the condition of the American people and the American Republic, when the latter was instituted.

During the whole of 1888, and the first months of 1889, the preliminaries were prosecuted with zeal by the Citizens' Committee of New York. Meanwhile the presidential election had been held in which the temporary ascendency of the Democratic party was replaced by Republican success. Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, was chosen President. Ex-President Cleveland retired at the close of his administration to New York city, and became a resident of that metropolis. Happily enough, the incoming Chief Magistrate was intimately associated in his family relations with the great events of the Revolution. His great-grandfather, also named Benjamin Harrison, had presided in the Colonial Congress when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, Mr. Hancock being absent from the chair on that ever memorable day. The son of that distinguished statesman had become ninth President of the United States, and now the great-grandson was chosen by the election of the American people to the same high office and dignity.

It was foreseen that the celebration would bring to New York city a vast concourse of people, and the event justified the expectations. It had been decided by the committee to devote two days to the commemorative exercises, namely, the 30th of April, and the 1st of May. For perhaps two weeks before these days the great trains on the many railways centering in the metropolis began to pour out an unusual cargo of human life. They grew longer, and darker with their burden, until, by the 29th of April, the city of New York was a mass of living beings gathered from all parts of the Republic, but principally from the old thirteen States. Next after these, the five great States composing what was a hundred years ago the territory north-west of the river Ohio were best represented. It is probable that at the time of the celebration New York proper held for her own population about 1,750,000 inhabitants, and a fair estimate would perhaps place the strangers then in the city at fully a half million.

For three days before the formal opening of the celebration, the Atlantic coast in the region of New York was visited with a great rain storm, which threatened to mar all that had been attempted, but on the 29th of the month the skies cleared, the air became fresh, and

the sunshine bright. The morning of the Centennial day was ushered in as auspiciously as could be desired, and the metropolis was early astir for the great event.

Meanwhile arrangements had been made for President Harrison, Vice-President Morton, the members of the Cabinet, and other prominent men connected with the government, to go to the city from Washington. To this end a magnificent train was prepared by the managers of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and a little after midnight on the morning of the 29th the President and his companions left Washington. They were received at several points *en route* with much enthusiasm, and as the train drew near New York the stations and towns were crowded with people. At Elizabethtown the real imitation of of the Washington inaugural began. Here a committee sent out from New York met the President and prepared to conduct him across the bay. A steamer called the *Despatch* had been prepared for this especial purpose. She was gaily decked with flags and streamers. The upper harbor of New York had been given up to the shipping, which was placed under the command of Admiral Porter. The scene presented from the observatory of the Field Building, erected on the site of Washington's old head quarters at the lower end of the island, was one of the finest ever witnessed. The broad harbor was covered with vessels, and gaily decorated ships of foreign nations vied with the American craft in flinging their streamers to the breeze.

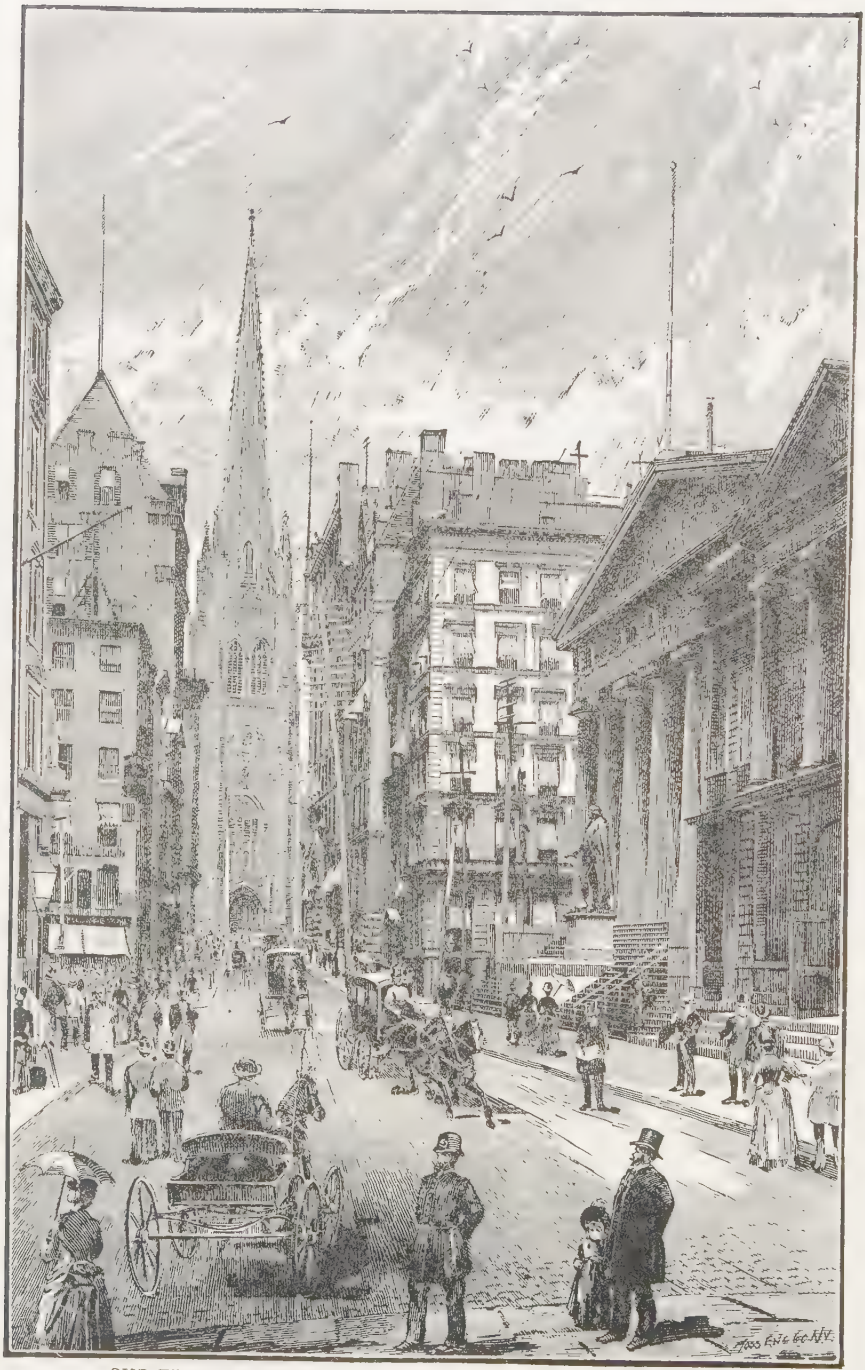
We may here speak of the general appearance of the city. Every pains had been taken to put the metropolis into gala dress and to present to the eye the most inspiring spectacle. Never was a city more completely clad in gay apparel. Every street on both sides as far as the eye could reach was ornamented with flags and streamers, mottoes, and emblems of jubilee. In this respect Broadway and Fifth Avenue were the most elaborately and beautifully adorned. It is doubtful whether in the history of mankind a finer display has been made in the streets of any city. The decorations extended to every variety of public and private edifices. Scarcely a house on Manhattan Island but had its share in the display. Indeed, if one had been lifted in a balloon above old Castle Garden, sweeping northward with his glass he would have seen flags on flags from the Battery to Spuyten Duyvil. Along both sides of the North River and East River and in the islands of the bay the universal emblems were flung to the breeze. And the purest of sunshine glorified the scene with a blaze of morning light. The convoy of the *Despatch*, under command of Captain Ambrose Snow, of the New York Marine Society, was rowed by twelve

venerable retired sea captains. The scene was sufficiently picturesque as they brought the President safely to land in the barge called the *Queen Kapiolani.*

The landing was effected a little after noon-day. The President was received by Mayor Grant, Governor Hill, and Stuyvesant Fish. The procession had been arranged from the foot of Wall Street to the great building of the Equitable Assurance Company in Broadway, where, under the auspices of the Lawyers' Club of New York, the first formal reception of the President occurred. As soon as General Harrison had taken his carriage the procession moved to the Equitable Building, where, on a raised platform, the President, the Vice-President, and Governor Hill were introduced to the invited guests, most of whom had taken part in the procession. In the next place the President lunched in an adjoining private room, the ornamentation of which, for this occasion, is said to have cost nearly $5,000. At this time the narrow streets in the lower part of the metropolis were packed with eager people. It was with difficulty that the troops, drawn up in a hollow square in front of the Equitable building, were able to keep back the crowds. Meanwhile many bands, especially those of Gilmore and Cappa, discoursed national airs, while in distant parts of the city the hum and roar of the rising excitement could be distinctly heard.

It must be borne in mind that the part assigned to President Harrison in these commemorative exercises was the part of Washington. He was to impersonate the Father of his Country. The next movement of the concourse was from the Equitable Building to the City Hall, where another reception was given. A splendid platform, covered with plush materials, railed in with brass, was erected on the spot where the bodies of Abraham Lincoln and General Grant had lain in state in death, and where the Marquis of Lafayette had stood on his visit to New York in 1824. About 5,000 persons at this place were received by the President. After the close of the exercises at City Hall the President was taken to the residence of Vice-President Morton on Fifth Avenue, whither his wife had already preceded him. In the evening he dined with Mr. Stuyvesant Fish in Gramercy Park, and at a later hour attended the great ball in the Metropolitan Opera House, which had been prepared in imitation and commemoration of the Washingtonian ball given on the occasion of the first inauguration, at which the Father of his Country led the first cotillon. Thus closed the ceremonies of the 29th of April, the day preceding the commemorative exercises proper.

On the following morning the inhabitants of New York, and hun-



SUB-TREASURY, WALL AND NASSAU STREETS, NEW YORK.

dreds of thousands of strangers, poured into the streets to witness the great military parade which was to be the feature of the day. Meanwhile in the lower part of the city the exercises which had been planned in imitation and commemoration of Washington's accession to the presidency were under way. Wall Street and Broad Street were packed with people. A great platform had been erected in front of the Treasury building, now occupying the site of old Federal Hall, and marked by the presence of Ward's colossal statue of Washington. It was here that the oratorical and literary exercises were to take place. These were to consist of a Centennial oration by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, also of an address by President Harrison, of a poem by John Greenleaf Whittier, and of such religious services as were appropriate to the occasion. Several of the leading clergymen of the metropolis were present on the stand. Archbishop Corrigan, Dr. Richard S. Storrs, and Dr. Henry C. Potter, bishop of New York, were the most distinguished of the group.

The exercises were opened by Mr. Elbridge T. Gerry, who in a few explanatory words introduced Dr. Storrs, who pronounced the invocation. The accessories were all in keeping with the occasion. President Harrison sat in a chair which had been much used by Washington. The table also was Washington's, and the Bible which was laid thereon was that on which the Father of his Country had taken the solemn oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States. The Whittier poem was then read by Mr. C. W. Bowen, secretary of the Citizens' Committee, as follows:

THE VOW OF WASHINGTON.

BY JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER.

The sword was sheathed; in April's sun
Lay green the fields by freedom won;
And severed sections, weary of debates,
Joined hands at last, and were United States.

O, city sitting by the sea!
How proud the day that dawned on thee;
When the New Era, long desired, began,
And in its need the hour had found the Man!

One thought the cannon's salvos spoke;
The resonant bell-tower's vibrant stroke;
The voiceful streets, the plaudit-echoing halls,
And prayer and hymn borne heavenward from St. Paul's.

How felt the land in every part
The strong throb of a nation's heart
As its great leader gave, with reverent awe,
His pledge to Union, Liberty, and Law.

That pledge the heavens above him heard;
That vow the sleep of centuries stirred;
In world-wide wonder listening peoples bent
Their gaze on freedom's great experiment.

Could it succeed? Of honor sold
And hopes deceived all history told;
Above the wrecks that strewed the mournful past
Was the long dream of ages true at last?

Thank God! The people's choice was just;
The one man equal to his trust;
Wise beyond lore and without weakness good,
Calm in the strength of flawless rectitude.

His rule of justice, order, peace,
Made possible the world's release;
Taught prince and serf that power is but a trust,
And rule alone which serves the ruled is just.

That freedom generous is, but strong
In hate of fraud and selfish wrong—
Pretense that turns her holy truths to lies,
And lawless license masking in her guise.

Land of his love! with one glad voice
Let thy great sisterhood rejoice;
A century's suns o'er thee have risen and set
And, God be praised! we are One Nation yet.

And still we trust the years to be
Shall prove his hope was destiny;
Leaving our flag with all its added stars
Unrent by faction and unstained by wars.

Lo! where with patient toil he nursed
And trained the new set plant at first,
The widening branches of a stately tree
Stretch from the sunrise to the sunset sea.

And in its broad and sheltering shade,
Sitting with none to make afraid,
Were we now silent through each mighty limb
The winds of heaven would sing the praise of him.

Our first and best! his ashes lie
Beneath his own Virginian sky.
Forgive, forget, O true and just and brave,
The storm that swept above thy sacred grave.

Forever in the awful strife
And dark hours of the nation's life,
Through the fierce tumult pierced his warning word;
Their father's voice his erring children heard.

The change for which he prayed and sought
In that sharp agony was wrought;
No partial interest draws its alien line
'Twixt North and South, the cypress and the pine.

One people now, all doubt beyond,
His name shall be our union bond;
We lift our hands to heaven, and here and now
Take on our lips the old Centennial vow.

For rule and trust must need be ours;
Chooser and chosen both are powers;
Equal in service as in rights, the claim
Of duty rests on each and all the same.

Then let the sovereign millions where
Our banner floats in sun and air,
From the warm palm-lands to Alaska's cold,
Repeat with us THE PLEDGE a century old!

The oration of Mr. Depew was of a high order, eulogistic of the present—the voice of a patriot who believes in the past and trusts the future. The address by the President was also able and patriotic. The exercises were closed with a benediction by Archbishop Corrigan, of the archdiocese of New York.

In the meantime the great military parade—the greatest of all such displays in the United States, with the single exception of the review of the soldiers at Washington at the close of the war—was in preparation for the march. The principal streets in the lower part of the city had been assigned for the formation of the various divisions of the parade. At last the procession was ready to move. A number of magnificent carriages bearing the President, the Vice-President, the members of the Cabinet, and other distinguished representatives of the government, swept up to the head of the column and led the way to the great reviewing stand which had been prepared on the west side of Madison Square, looking down into Fifth Avenue. Here the President and his companions took their places to review the column as it passed, and for six hours the chief magistrate stood up to recognize, in his official capacity, the passing squadrons of the greatest parade ever known in a time of peace west of the Atlantic.

It were difficult to describe the great procession. It was admirably

managed—wholly military. The different divisions were arranged in files from eighteen to twenty-two men abreast. In many places the marching was in close rank, so that the knees of those in the rear rank fitted almost geometrically into those of the men in front. The passage was at the rate of more than 9,000 per hour. The best estimates place the number in line at over 52,000. Major General John M. Schofield was commander-in-chief. The course of march was from Wall Street into Broadway; up Broadway to Waverly Place; through Waverly Place into Fifth Avenue; along that magnificent thoroughfare to Fourteenth Street; thence around Union Square, through to Fifth Avenue and thence northward to Central Park.

Through all this distance and on both sides of the street was a solid wall of human beings, rising to the rear by every kind of contrivance which human ingenuity could invent, so as to gain a view of the procession. The mass on the sidewalks was from twenty to fifty persons deep. In every advantageous position scaffolding with ascending seats had been erected for the accommodation of the multitudes, and not a seat was left unoccupied. At the street crossings every variety of vehicle had been drawn up, and the privilege of standing on boxes or sitting in carts, wagons, or hacks was sold at high figures to the eager people who pressed into the crowd. Windows and every other available point of view, housetops, balconies, stoops, verandas, were crowded to their utmost capacity. In favorite localities fabulous prices were charged for the privilege of looking from a window upon the passing cavalcade. The latter was, as we have said, preceded by the Presidential company. General Schofield, senior Major-General of the American Army, as chief marshal, rode at the head of the column. After him, and leading the van of the procession proper, were over 2,000 regulars, infantry and cavalry, drawn from the Army; then came the cadets from West Point, whose marching and uniform and bearing were of such excellence as to excite a chorus of cheers from end to end of the long march. Next followed the artillery and batteries of the regular army. Many of the guns and

JOHN M. SCHOFIELD.

MEMORIAL ARCH, FIFTH AVENUE AND WAVERLEY PLACE, NEW YORK.

much of the armor was resplendent for its brilliancy. After these came the marines and naval cadets, a vast column of apprentices, whose march, by its peculiar rolling movement, denoted that the column had been recently gathered from the decks of ships.

Thus closed the first division of the procession—that is, those who were taken from the Army and Navy of the United States. Then followed the militiamen—the National Guard of the different States. At the head was a column of 370 men from Delaware; for Delaware had been first of the old thirteen States to adopt the Constitution, and was thus given a place of honor on the centennial anniversary. The Governor of each State represented in the parade rode at the head of the division from his own Commonwealth. Most of the governors were in civil attire. General Beaver, of Pennsylvania, General Fitzhugh Lee, of Virginia, and General John B. Gordon, of Georgia, were conspicuous at the head of their divisions. It was noticed that those who were present from the Southern States were received with unstinted applause. Governor Beaver rode at the head of the Pennsylvania troops, numbering fully 8,000 men. Then came Governor Green, with the soldiers of New Jersey 3,700 strong; then Georgia, with General Gordon and his staff. The Foot Guards from Connecticut, preceded by the Governor, numbered 600. Governor Ames, of Massachusetts, headed the column of 1,500 from the old Bay State—a noble division, containing the Ancient and Honorable Artillery of Boston, all uniformed after the most antique pattern. The men of Maryland were 500 strong. Then came New Hampshire; then Vermont, with a division of 700. Governor Richardson, of North Carolina, followed with a body of 500 men. This division was fortunate in bearing an old flag belonging to North Carolina in the pre-Revolutionary epoch. After this came the great division of New York. Twelve thousand men, arranged in four brigades of eighteen regiments, one battalion, and five batteries, were the contribution of the Empire State to the great display. At the head of the line rode Governor David B. Hill.

In this column the Seventh Regiment, made up of prominent men of New York city, and numbering over 1,000, was, perhaps, the most conspicuous single body in the whole procession. The Twenty-second Regiment vied with its rival; and it might be difficult to decide whether the palm for marching and other evidences of elegant training should be awarded to the West Point Cadets, the Seventh Regiment of New York, the Twenty-second Regiment of the same State, the squadron from the Michigan Military Academy, or the Twenty-third Regiment, of Brooklyn.

Behind this magnificent display of the military came the veterans of the Civil War, the men of the Grand Army of the Republic, headed by their commander-in-chief, General William Warner. These were arranged column after column to an aggregate of 12,000, according to the locality from which they were gathered, the rear being closed with a magnificent body of old soldiers, numbering nearly 4,000, from Brooklyn and Kings County. It was already nightfall when this extreme left of the column passed the reviewing stand, and the parade for the day was at an end.

The evening of the 30th was occupied with one of the most elaborate and sumptuous banquets ever spread in the United States. For this purpose the Metropolitan Opera House, in Broadway, had been procured and decorated. It was claimed by those experienced in such matters that the floral ornamentation of the hall was far superior in costliness and beauty to any thing of like kind ever before displayed in the country. The boxes of the theater were adorned with the national colors, with the shields and coats-of-arms of the various States of the Union. Over the proscenium arch was a portrait of Washington, arranged in a cluster of evergreens and flowers. The auditorium was brilliantly illuminated, and the scene of splendor on every hand might well dazzle the eye and surprise the imagination of the beholder. The banqueters, embracing many of the chief men of the nation, were seated at a series of tables, the first and principal one being occupied by the President of the United States, the Governor of New York, the Vice-President, the Lieutenant-Governor, Chief-Justice Fuller, Judge Andrews, General Schofield, Admiral Porter, Senator Evarts, Senator Hiscock, Ex-President Hayes, Ex-President Cleveland, Bishop Potter, Speaker Cole, of the New York Assembly, Secretary Proctor, Hon. S. S. Cox, General William T. Sherman, Clarence W. Bowen, and Elbridge T. Gerry, the last two representing the Citizens' Committee. At this table Mayor Grant presided, and read the toasts of the evening.

The feast began at 9 o'clock in the evening. At the close a series of brief addresses were delivered by the Governor of New York, Ex-President Cleveland, Ex-President Hayes, General Sherman, Senator Evarts, President Eliot, of Harvard; James Russell Lowell, Senator Daniel, and others. The closing address was by the President of the United States. Nearly all the speeches were faultless in their subject-matter, eloquent in delivery, and worthy to be regarded as classics of the occasion.

The programme prepared by the Citizens' Committee embraced a general holiday of three days' duration, during which business was sus-

pended throughout the city. On the 29th and 30th of April and on the 1st day of May the restriction was faithfully regarded. One might traverse Broadway and find but few business establishments open to the public. This was true particularly of the two principal days of the festival.

It now remains to notice the great civic parade of the 1st of May, with which the commemorative exercises were concluded. The design was that this should represent the industries, the progress, and in general the civic life of the Metropolis of the Nation and of the country at large, as distinguished from the military display of the preceding day. It was found from the experience of the 30th that the line of march was too lengthy, and the second day's course was made somewhat shorter. It is not intended in this connection to enter into any elaborate account of the civic procession of the third day. It was second only in importance to the great military parade which had preceded it. The procession was composed, in large part, of those various civic orders and brotherhoods with which modern society so much abounds. In these the foreign nationalities which have obtained so large a footing in New York city were largely prevalent. The German societies were out in full force. Companies representing almost every nation of the Old World were in the line, carrying gay banners, keeping step to the music of magnificent bands, and proudly lifting their mottoes and emblems in the May-day morning.

The second general feature of this procession was the historical part. The primitive life of Manhattan Island, the adventures of the early explorers and discoverers along the American coast, the striking incidents in the early annals of the old Thirteen States, were allegorized and mounted in visible form on chariots and drawn through the streets. All the old heroes of American History, from Columbus to Peter Stuyvesant, were seen again in mortal form, received obeisance, and heard the shouts of the multitudes. From ten o'clock in the forenoon till half-past three in the afternoon the procession was under way, the principal line of march being down Fifth Avenue and through the principal squares of the city. With the coming of evening the pyrotechnic display of the preceding night was renewed in many parts of the metropolis, though it could hardly be said that the fireworks were equal in brilliancy, beauty, and impressiveness to the magnificent day pageants of the streets.

One of the striking features of the celebration was the ease and rapidity with which the vast multitudes were breathed into and breathed out of the city. In the principal hotels fully 150,000 strangers were

registered as guests. More than twice this number were distributed in the smaller lodging-houses and private dwellings of New York and Brooklyn. Yet the careful observer abroad in the streets saw neither the coming nor the going. With the appearance of the days of the celebration the throngs were present; on the following days they were gone. The great railways centering in the metropolis had done their work noiselessly, speedily, effectively. It may well be recorded as one of the marvels of modern times that only two persons are said to have lost their lives in this tremendous assemblage, extending through several days, and that at least one of these died suddenly from heart disease, while the manner of the death of the other was unknown. Such is the triumph which the mastery of the human mind over the forces of the material world has easily achieved in our age, under the guidance of that beneficent science by which the world is at once enlightened and protected from danger.

The close of the year 1888 and the beginning of 1889 were marked by a peculiar episode in the history of the country. An unexpected and even dangerous complication arose between the United States and Germany relative to the Samoan Islands. This comparatively unimportant group of the South Pacific lies in a south-westerly direction, at a distance of about five thousand miles from San Francisco and nearly two thousand miles eastward from Australia. The long-standing policy of the government, established under the administration of Washington and ever since maintained, to have no entanglements with foreign nations, seemed in this instance to be strangely at variance with the facts.

During 1888 the civil affairs of the Samoan Islands were thrown into extreme confusion by what was really the progressive disposition of the people, but what appeared in the garb of an insurrection against the established authorities. The government of the islands is a monarchy. The country is ruled by native princes, and is independent of foreign powers. The capital, Apia, lies on a bay of the same name on the northern coast of the principal island. It was here that the insurrection gained greatest headway.

The revolutionary movement was headed by an audacious chieftain called Tamasese. The king of the island was Malietoa, and his chief supporter, Mataafa. At the time the German Empire was represented in Samoa by its Consul-General, Herr Knappe; and the United States was represented by Hon. Harold M. Sewall. A German armed force virtually deposed Malietoa and set up Tamasese on the throne. On the other hand, the representative of the United States, following

the policy of his government, stood by the established authority, supporting the native sovereign and Mataafa. The American and German authorities in the island were thus brought into conflict, and serious difficulties occurred between the ships of the two nations in the harbor.

When the news of this state of affairs reached Germany, in April, 1889, several additional men-of-war were sent out to the island to uphold the German cause. Mataafa and the Germans were thus brought to war. Meanwhile the American government took up the cause of its consul and of King Malietoa as against the insurrection. A section of the American navy was dispatched to the distant island, and the ships of war of two of the greatest nations of Christendom were thus set face to face in a harbor of the South Pacific Ocean.

In this condition of affairs, on the 22d of March, 1889, one of the most violent hurricanes ever known in the islands blew up from the north, and the American and German war-vessels were driven upon the great reef which constitutes the only break-water outside of the harbor of Apia. Here they were wrecked. The American war-ships *Nipsic*, *Trenton*, and *Vandalia* were dashed into ruins. The German vessels *Adler*, *Olga*, and *Eber* were also lost. The English vessel *Calliope*, which was caught in the storm, was the only war-ship which escaped by steaming out to sea. Serious loss of life accompanied the disaster: 4 American officers and 46 men, 9 German officers and 87 men sank to rise no more.

Meanwhile England had become interested in the dispute, and had taken a stand with the United States as against the decision of Germany. The matter became of so great importance that President Harrison, who had in the meantime acceded to office as chief magistrate, appointed, with the advice of the Senate, an Embassy Extraordinary, to go to Berlin and meet Prince Bismarck in a conference with a view to a peaceful solution of the difficulty. The embassadors appointed for this purpose were J. A. Kasson, of Iowa; William W. Phelps, of New Jersey; and G. H. Bates, of Delaware. The commissioners set out on the 13th of April, and on their arrival at the capital of the German Empire opened negotiations with the Chancellor Bismarck and his son. The attitude and demand of the American government was that the independence of Samoa, under its native sovereign, should be acknowledged and guaranteed by the great nations concerned in the controversy. The conference closed in May, 1889, with the restoration of King Malietoa and the recognition of his sovereignty over the island.

The closing week of May, 1889, was made forever memorable in the history of the United States by the destruction of Johnstown,

Pennsylvania. The calamity was caused by the bursting of a reservoir and the pouring out of the deluge in the valley below. A large artificial lake had been constructed in the ravine of the South Fork River, a tributary of the Conemaugh. It was a fishing lake, the property of a company of wealthy sportsmen, and was about five miles in length, varying in depth from fifty to one hundred feet. An immense volume of water was thus accumulated in a gorge at the foot of the mountains, and was, as it were, suspended over the valley of Conemaugh The country below the lake was thickly peopled. The city of Johnstown, with a population of more than ten thousand, lay at the junction of the South Fork with the Conemaugh. In the last days of May unusually heavy rains fell in all that region, swelling every stream to a torrent. The South Fork Lake became full to overflowing. The dam had been imperfectly constructed. On the afternoon of May 31 the dam of the reservoir burst wide open in the center and a solid wall of water from twenty to fifty feet in height rushed down the valley with terrific violence. The country was already inundated, and on top of the swollen streams was poured a veritable flood.

The destruction which ensued was among the greatest which the modern world has witnessed. In the path of the deluge every thing was swept away. The manufacturing city of Johnstown was totally wrecked, and was thrown in an indescribable heap of horror against the aqueduct of the Pennsylvania railway, which spanned the river below the town. Here the ruins caught fire, and the wild shrieks of hundreds of miserable victims were drowned in the holocaust. According to the best estimates more than 2,000 people perished in the flood or were burned to death in the ruins. The heart of the nation responded quickly to the sufferings of the survivors, and millions of dollars in money and supplies were poured out to relieve the despair of those who survived the calamity.

The year 1889 witnessed the assembling at Washington City of an International Congress. The body was composed of delegates from the Central and South American States, from Mexico, and the United States of America. Popularly the assembly was known as the "Pan-American Congress." The event was the culmination of a policy adopted by the United States some years previously. General Grant, during his presidency and in the subsequent parts of his life, had endeavored to promote more intimate relations with the Spanish-American peoples. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State under Garfield, entertained a similar ambition. The publicist and author, Hinton Rowan Helper, had also by his writings and ad-

vocacy, greatly promoted the cause of overland intercourse through the Three Americas. Mr. Blaine in this cause was accused of a purpose to create in the United States a policy similar to Disraeli's "high-jingoism" in Great Britain. The United States were to become the arbiter of the Western nations. To this end the Central American and South American States must be brought, first into intimacy with our Republic, and afterwards to be made to follow her lead in warding off all Europeanism.

The death of Garfield prevented the institution of some such policy as that here vaguely defined. Nevertheless, in 1884, an Act was passed by Congress authorizing the President to appoint a commission "to ascertain and report upon the best modes of securing more intimate international commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America." Commissioners were sent out to the countries referred to, and the movement for the Congress was started. Not until May of 1888, however, was the Act passed providing for the Congress. The Spanish-American nations responded to the overtures and took the necessary steps to meet the United States in the conference. The objects contemplated were, first, to promote measures pertaining to the peace and prosperity of the peoples concerned; to establish customs-unions among them; to improve the means of communication between the ports of the States represented, and to advance the commercial interests and political harmony of the nations of the New World.

The Spanish-American and Portuguese-American States, to the number of nine, appointed their delegates, and the latter arrived in the United States in the autumn of 1889. President Harrison on his part named ten members of the Congress as follows: John F. Hanson, of Georgia; Morris M. Estee, of California; Henry G. Davis, of West Virginia; Andrew Carnegie, of Pennsylvania; T. Jefferson Coolidge, of Massachusetts; Clement Studebaker, of Indiana; Charles R. Flint, of New York; William H. Trescot, of South Carolina; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York; and John B. Henderson, of Missouri. Mexico sent two representatives, namely: Matias Romero and Enrique A. Maxia. Brazil, still an Empire, also sent two delegates: J. G. de Amaral Valente and Salvador de Mendonca. The representative of Honduras was Jeronimo Zelaya; Fernando Cruz, the delegate of Guatemala, and Jacinto Castellanos of San Salvador. Costa Rica sent as her representative Manuel Aragon. Horatio Guzman, Minister of Nicaragua, represented his

Government in the Congress. The Argentine Republic had two delegates: Roque Saenz Pena and Manuel Quintana. Chili sent two delegates: Emilio C. Varas and José Alfonso. The representatives of the United States of Colombia were José M. Hurtado, Carlos Martinez Silva, and Climaco Calderon. The delegates of Venezuela were Nicanor Bolet Peraza, José Andrade, and Francisco Antonia Silva; that of Peru was F. C. C. Zegarra; that of Ecuador, José Maria Placido Caamano; that of Uruguay, Alberto Nin; that of Bolivia, Juan F. Velarde; that of Hayti, Arthur Laforestrie; and that of Paraguay, José S. Decoud.

The representatives met in Washington City, in October. Committees were formed to report to the body suitable action on the subjects which might properly come before it for discussion. From the first the proceedings took a peculiarly practical direction. The great questions of commerce were at the bottom of the reports, the debates and the actions which followed. Nor can it be doubted that the movement as a whole conduced in the highest degree to the friendship, prosperity and mutual interests of the nations concerned.

At the same time an International Maritime Conference, for which provisions had been made in the legislation of several nations, convened at Washington. In this case the States of Europe were concerned in common with those of the New World. All the maritime nations were invited by the act of Congress to send representatives to the National Capital in the following year, to consider the possibility of establishing uniform rules and regulations for the government of vessels at sea, and for the adoption of a common system of marine signals. Twenty-six nations accepted the call of the American Government, and appointed delegates to the Congress. They, too, as well as the representatives of the Pan-American Conference, held their sittings in November and December of 1889. The same practical ability and good sense as related to the subjects under consideration were shown by the members of the Maritime Conference as by those of the sister body, and the results reached were equally encouraging and equally gratifying, not only to the Government of the United States, but to all the countries whose interests were involved in the discussions.

We may here revert briefly to the work of the Fifty-first Congress. The proceedings of that branch of the Government were marked with much partisan bitterness and excitement. The first question which occupied the attention of the body was the revision of the tariff. In the preceding pages we have developed with suffi-

cient amplitude the history and various phases of this question. The Civil War brought in a condition of affairs which must, in the nature of the case, entail the tariff issue on the rest of the century. More than two decades elapsed after the close of the conflict before the attention of the American people was sufficiently aroused to the nature of the laws bearing on their industrial condition. Then it was that they first became aware of the fact that a schedule of customs-duties, which had been brought forth under the exigency of war, still existed, and that under the operation of this schedule a vast array of protected industries had grown great and strong. Around them consolidated corporations had been formed, having millions of money at their command and vast ramifications into political society. As a consequence, the revenues of the United States were swollen to mountainous proportions. The treasury at Washington became engorged, and at length the necessity was developed of doing something in the nature of reform.

The condition of affairs in the treasury — depending as it did upon the tariff system — entailed two prodigious evils: the surplus served as a motive in Congress for all manner of jobbery and extravagant expenditure. In the second place, it enabled the combined monopolies of the country to uphold themselves by affecting national legislation in favor of the protected industries and against the common interest of the people as a whole. The situation was really a danger and constant menace. It was for this reason that President Cleveland, as already noted, sent his celebrated annual message to Congress, touching upon the single question of the evils of the existing system and asking that body to take such steps as should lead to a general reform.

We have already seen how this question was uppermost in the presidential contest of 1888. The Democratic platform boldly espoused the doctrine of tariff reform, but stopped short — out of an expedient deference to the manufacturing interests — of absolute free trade. The Republican platform declared for a revision of the tariff system — such a revision as might preserve the manufacturing interests, but favor those industries which seemed to be disparaged. This clause of the platform proved to be wonderfully effective in the political campaign. The event showed, however, that it was a shuffle. A very large part of the Republicans understood by "revision of the tariff" such legislation as should *reduce and reform* the existing system, not merely change it and adapt it to the interests of the protected classes.

With the opening of the Fifty-first Congress it soon became apparent that "revision of the tariff" was not to mean a reform by reduction and curtailments of the schedule, but that the actual movement was in the other direction! Representative William McKinley, of Ohio, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, brought in a measure which passed into history under the name of the McKinley Bill, and which, finally adopted by the Republican majority, was incorporated as a part of the governmental system. The policy of the bill was to abolish the existing duties on a few great articles of production, particularly raw sugar and the lower grades of refined sugar. By this means a vast reduction was secured in the aggregate revenues, notwithstanding the fact that the average rates of import duties on manufactured articles in general was raised from about forty-seven per cent. to more than fifty-three per cent.! The McKinley Bill became, therefore, efficient by adroitly drawing to its principles the sympathies of the protected classes, and at the same time, by throwing free — and therefore cheap — sugar to the people, attracted not a little popular support. The contest over the measure was extreme in animosity, and the bill was adopted only after great delay.

The sequel showed unusual results. The tariff legislation of the Fifty-first Congress was immediately attacked by the Democratic and Independent press of the country. Opinion was overwhelmingly against it. The general elections of 1890 brought an astonishing verdict of the people against the late enactments. There was a complete political revulsion by which the Republican majority in the House of Representatives was replaced by a Democratic majority of nearly three to one. At a later period a second reaction ensued somewhat favorable to the McKinley legislation, and the author of the measures referred to succeeded in being chosen, in 1891, governor of Ohio, attaining his position by a popular majority of over twenty thousand.

Another incident in the history of the same Congress relates to the serious difficulty which arose in the House of Representatives between the Democratic minority and the Speaker, Thomas B. Reed, of Maine. The Republican majority in the Fifty-first House was not large, and the minority were easily able, in matters of party legislation, to break the quorum by refusing to vote. In order to counteract this policy, a new system of rules was reported, empowering the Speaker to count the minority as present, whether voting or not voting, and thus to compel a quorum. These rules

were violently resisted by the Democrats, and Speaker Reed was denounced by his opponent as an unjust and arbitrary officer. He was nicknamed in the jargon of the times "The Czar," because of his rulings and strong-handed method of making the records of the House show a majority when no majority had actually voted on the pending questions. It was under the provision of the new rule that nearly all of the party measures of the Fifty-first Congress were adopted.

One of the most important of these acts was the attempt to pass through Congress a measure bearing radically upon the election-system of the United States. A bill was reported by which it was proposed virtually to transfer the control of the Congressional elections in the States of the Union from State to National authority. It cannot be doubted that the measure reached down to the fundamental principles of American political society. The "Force Bill," as it was called, brought out the strongest passions of the day. The opposition was intense. The Republican party was by no means unanimous in support of the measure. A large part of the thinking people of the United States, without respect to political affiliation, doubted the expediency of this additional measure of centralization.

Certain it was that serious and great abuses existed in the election-systems of the States. In many parts of the United States elections were not free. In parts of the South the old animosities against the political equality of the Black Men were still sufficiently vital to prevent the freedom of the ballot. Congressmen were many times chosen by a small minority who, from their social and political superiority, were able to baffle or intimidate the ignorant many at the polls. Such an abuse called loudly for a reform; but the measure proposed doubtless contained within itself the potent germs of abuses greater than those which it was sought to remove. The Elections Bill was for a long time debated in Congress, and was then laid over indefinitely in such manner as to prevent final action upon it. Certain Republican Senators who were opposed to the measure, and at the same time strongly wedded to the cause of the free coinage of silver money, joined their votes with the Democrats, and the so-called "Force Bill" failed of adoption.

The third great measure of the Fifty-first Congress was the attempt to restore silver to a perfect equality with gold in the coinage system of the United States. Since 1874 there had been an increasing departure in the market values of gold and silver bullion, though the purchasing power of the two money metals had been kept equal

when the same were coined, under the provisions of legal tender. The purchasing power of gold bullion had in the last fifteen years risen about sixteen per cent., while the purchasing power of silver bullion had fallen about four per cent., in the markets of the world, thus producing a difference of twenty per cent. or more, in the purchasing power of the two metals in bullion. One class of theorists, assuming that gold is the only standard of values, insisted that this difference in the purchasing power of the two raw metals had arisen wholly from a depreciation in the price of silver. This class included the monometalists — those who desire that the monetary system of the United States shall be brought to the single standard of gold, and that silver shall be made wholly subsidiary to the richer metal. To this class belonged the fund-holding syndicates, and indeed all great creditors whose interest it is to have the debts due them discharged in as costly a dollar as possible.

As a matter of course, if a debt be contracted on a basis of two metals, that fact gives to the debtor the valuable option of paying in the cheaper of the two coins. This valuable option the people of the United States have enjoyed, greatly to their advantage and prosperity. The silver dollar has been for precisely a hundred years (with the exception of the quadrennium extending from 1874 to 1878) the dollar of the law and the contract. It has never been altered or abridged to the extent of a fraction of a grain from the establishment of our system of money in 1792. It has therefore been, and continues to be, the lawful and undoubted unit of all money and account in the United States, just as much, and even more, than the gold dollar with which it is associated. If it be true, therefore, that there is a radical and irremediable departure in the value of these two metals — if it be true that we have, as monometalists assert, an 80-cent dollar — it is clearly and demonstrably true that we have also a "long dollar," a dollar worth more than par, a 120-cent dollar, which the creditor classes desire to have substituted for the dollar of the law and the contract.

The advocates of the free coinage of silver have argued that the difference in the bullion values of the two money metals has arisen most largely from an increase in the purchasing power of gold, and that equal legislation and equal favor shown to the two money metals would bring them to par the one with the other, and keep them in that relation in the markets of the world. It is claimed, with good reason, that the laws hitherto enacted by Congress discriminating against silver and in favor of gold, were impolitic, un-

just and un-American. It was urged in the debates of 1889–90 that the free coinage of silver would be of vast advantage to the financial interests of the country. This view and argument, however, were strenuously opposed by the money centres and credit-holding classes of the United States, to whom the payment of all debts according to the highest standard of value, that is, in gold only, was a fundamental principle.

The debates, for awhile, seemed likely to disrupt the existing political order. Suddenly the United States Senate, by a combination of a large number of free-silver Republicans, with the great majority of the Democrats, passed a bill for the absolute free coinage of silver, and for the day it seemed that the measure had succeeded. The Administration, however, was strongly opposed to free coinage. The Senate bill was therefore adroitly arrested by the management of Speaker Reed and the Ways and Means Committee of the House. Another bill, in the form of an amendment providing for the *purchase* (but not for the *coinage*) of four million ounces of silver monthly, by the treasury of the United States, and the payment therefor in silver certificates having the form and functions of money, was passed by the House and finally accepted by the Senate. An expansion of the *paper* money of the country was thus effected, while at the same time the control of the silver bullion was retained in the treasury under the management of those who were opposed to free coinage and hopeful ultimately of at least effecting a compromise by which a more valuable silver dollar may be substituted in the interest of the creditor classes in place of the standard silver dollar which has borne the full legal tender quality since the foundation of the Government. By the legislation just referred to, the ultimate decision of the silver question was thrown over to another Congress, to constitute a menace and terror to party discipline for both the Democratic and Republican parties.

In addition to the admission of four new States, the Fifty-first Congress passed the necessary acts for the organization of Idaho and Wyoming. These were destined to make the forty-third and forty-fourth members of the Union. Idaho at the time of organization contained a population of 84,385. Wyoming had a population of 60,705. The acts for Statehood were passed for the two new commonwealths on the 3d and 10th of July, respectively, in the year 1890.

In June of the same year was taken the eleventh decennial census of the United States. Its results, so far as the same have

been compiled, indicate that the aggregate population of the country has increased to 62,622,250, exclusive of Indians not taxed and Whites in Alaska and the Indian Territory. These additions will doubtless increase the grand total to 63,000,000 souls. The centre of population had continued its progress westward, having removed during the ninth decade from the vicinity of Cincinnati to a point near the hamlet of Westport, in Decatur County, Indiana.

The period which is here before us was marked by the death of three of the few remaining great leaders of the Civil War. On the 5th of August, 1885, Lieutenant-General Sheridan, at that time commander-in-chief of the American army, died at his home in Nonquitt, Massachusetts. Few other generals of the Union army had won greater admiration and higher honors. He was in many senses a model soldier, and his death at the comparatively early age of fifty-seven, was the occasion of great grief throughout the country. Still more conspicuous was the fall of General William T. Sherman. Among the Union commanders in the great Civil War, he stood easily next to Grant in greatness and reputation. In vast and varied abilities, particularly in military accomplishments, he was perhaps superior to all. It may well be thought that he was more fortunate than any other — and wiser. After the war, he steadily refused to be other than a great soldier. No enticement, no blandishment, no form of applause or persuasion, could induce him to exchange the laurels which he had won in the immortal contest for the Union for any other form of chaplet or perishable wreath.

Sherman might have been President of the United States. It were not far from the truth to believe that he was the only man in America who ever willingly put aside that glittering prize. To have fallen into the hands of politicians, place-hunters, jobbers and cormorants, would have been intolerable to that brusque, sturdy and truthful nature. With a clearer vision even than the vision of Grant, he perceived that to be the unsullied great soldier of the Union, was to be better than anything made by men in caucus and convention. Born in 1820, he reached the mature age of seventy-one, and died at his home in New York City, on the 14th day of February, 1891. That event produced a profound impression. The General of the Union army who had fought so many great battles and said so many great things, was at last silent in death. Of his sterling patriotism there had never been a doubt. Of his prescience in war, of his learning, of his abilities as an author, there could be as little skepticism. As to his wonderful faculties and achievements,

all men were agreed. His funeral became the man. He had provided for that also, in advance. He had directed that nothing other than a soldier's burial should be reserved for him. His remains were taken under escort from New York to St. Louis, where they were deposited in the family burying grounds, in Mount Calvary Cemetery.

After the death of General Sherman, only two commanders of the first class remained on the stage of action from the great Civil War — both Confederates. These were Generals Joseph E. Johnston and James Longstreet. The former of these two was destined to follow his rival and conqueror at an early day to the land of rest. General Johnston had been an honorary pall-bearer at the funeral of Sherman, and contracted a heavy cold on that occasion, which resulted in his death on the 20th of February, 1891, at his home in Washington City. Strange fatality of human affairs that after twenty-five years, he who surrendered his sword to Sherman at Raleigh, should have come home from the funeral of the victor to die! General Johnston was in his eighty-third year at the time of his decease. Among the Confederate commanders none were his superiors, with the single exception of Lee. After the close of the war, his conduct had been of a kind to win the confidence of Union men, and at the time of his death he was held in almost universal honor.

It was at this time, namely, in February of 1891, that a serious event reaching upward and outward, first, into national and then into international proportions, occurred in the city of New Orleans. There existed in that metropolis a branch of the secret social organization among the Italians known by the European name of the Mafia Society. The principles of the brotherhood involved mutual protection, and even the law of revenge against enemies. Doubtless much of the spirit which had belonged to the Italian order of the Mafia had been transferred to America. At any rate, some of the features of the order were un-American in character, and some of the methods dangerous to the public and private peace. Several breaks occurred between members of the society (not the society itself) and the police authorities of the city; and the latter, by arrest and persecution, incurred the dislike and hatred of the former. The difficulty grew in animosity until at length Captain David C. Hennessey, chief of the police of New Orleans, was assassinated by some secret murderer, or murderers, who for the time escaped detection. It was believed, however, that the Mafia society was at the

bottom of the assassination, and several of the members of the brotherhood were arrested under the charge of murder.

A trial followed, and the circumstances tended to establish — but did *not* establish — the guilt of the prisoners. The proof was not positive — did not preclude a reasonable doubt of the guilt of those on trial, and the first three of the Italian prisoners were acquitted. The sequel was unfortunate in the last degree. A great excitement followed the decision of the court and jury, and charges were made and published that the jury had been bribed or terrorized with threats into making a false verdict. These charges were never substantiated, and were doubtless without authenticity. But on the day following the acquittal of the Italians, a public meeting, having its origin in mobocracy, was called, and a great crowd, irresponsible and angry, gathered around the statue of Henry Clay, in one of the public squares of New Orleans.

Speeches were made. The authorities of the city, instead of attempting to check the movement, stood off and let it take its own course. A mob was at once organized and directed against the jail, where the Italian prisoners were confined. The jail was entered by force. The prisoners were driven from their cells, and nine of them were shot to death in the jail-yard. Two others were dragged forth and hanged. Nor can it be doubted that the innocent as well as the guilty (if indeed any were guilty — as certainly none were guilty according to law) suffered in the slaughter.

The event was followed by the greatest public excitement. Clearly murder and outrage had been done by the mob. It was soon proved that at least two of the murdered Italians had been subjects of the Italian Kingdom; the rest were either naturalized Americans or foreigners bearing papers of intention. The affair at once became of national, and then of international, importance. The President of the United States called upon Governor Nicolls, of Louisiana, to give an account of the thing done in New Orleans, and its justification. The governor replied with a communication in which it were hard to say whether insolence or inconsequential apology for the actions of the mob was uppermost. With this the excitement increased. The Italian Minister, Baron Fava, at Washington, entered his solemn protest against the killing of his countrymen, and the American Secretary of State entered into communication with King Humbert on the subject.

Italy was thoroughly aroused. The Italian societies in various American cities passed angry resolutions against the destruction of

their fellow-citizens by the mob, and the newspapers of the country teemed with discussions of the subject. There was unfortunately a disposition on the part of America to play the bully. At times, threats of war were freely made, and it appeared not impossible that the two countries would become unhappily involved in a conflict. The more thoughtful, however, looked with confidence to the settlement of the question by peaceable means. The Italian Government presently recalled Baron Fava from Washington, and during the remainder of the year, communications between the two governments were made only through the Italian Chargè d'Affaires at Washington. Gradually, however, the excitement subsided. The American Government was fortunate in having as its representative at the Court of Italy the Honorable Albert G. Porter, a man of calm temperament and deeply imbued with the sense of justice and right. By the beginning of 1892 it had become certain that the unpleasant episode would pass without further menace of war, and that the question involved in the difficulty would be justly settled in the course of time by the equitable rules of diplomacy.

The year 1891 was noted for a serious difficulty between the United States and the Republic of Chili. The complication had its origin in the domestic affairs of that Republic, particularly in a revolution which, in the spring of the year named, began to make headway against the existing government. At the head of that government was President Balmaceda, against whom the popular party in the Chilian Congress was violently arrayed. The President was accused of seeking to influence the choice of his own successor in the approaching election, but more especially of retaining in office a Ministry out of harmony with the Congressional majority. The latter point was the more serious, and led at length to the assumption of dictatorial powers by the President. This course seemed necessary in order to maintain himself in power and to uphold the existing Ministry. The popular party receded from Congress only to take up arms. This party was known in the civil conflict that ensued as the Congressionalists, while the upholders of the existing order were called Balmacedists. The latter had possession of the government; but the former, outside of the great cities of Valparaiso and Santiago, were the most powerful.

The insurrection against Balmaceda gathered head. A Congressional Junta was formed, and a provisional government was set up at the town of Iquique. Thus far the movement had in no wise disturbed the relations of Chili with the United States. It is in the

nature of such revolutions that the insurgent party must acquire resources, gather arms and create all the other means of its existence, progress and success. The Chilians of the Congressional faction found themselves in great need of arms, and would fain look to some foreign nation for a supply. In the emergency they managed to get possession of a steamship called the *Itata*, belonging to the South American Steamship Company, and sent her to the western coast of the United States to purchase arms. The steamer came to the harbor of San Diego, California, and by the agency of an intermediate vessel managed to secure a large purchase of arms, and to get the same transferred to her own deck. At this juncture, however, the government, gaining information of the thing done, ordered the detention of the *Itata* until her business and destination could be known. A district attorney of the United States was sent on board the ship, which was ordered not to leave the bay. In defiance of this order, however, the officers of the *Itata* steamed out by night and got to sea. They put the officer of the United States in a boat, sent him ashore, and disappeared over the Pacific horizon.

The announcement of the escape of the *Itata* led to vigorous action on the part of the Government. The United States war-ship *Charleston* was ordered out in pursuit from the bay of San Francisco.

The *Itata*, however, had three days the start, and it could hardly be expected that the *Charleston* would be able to overhaul the fugitive. The former made her way to one of the harbors of Chili, whither she was pursued by the *Charleston*. But the matter had now come to protest, made by the United States to the provisional government of the Revolutionists, and the latter consented to the surrender of the *Itata* to the authorities of our country. This was done, and the incident seemed for the time to have ended without serious conseqences.

After the affair of the *Itata,* public opinion in Chili, particularly in the cities of Santiago and Valparaiso, turned strongly against the United States. This is said of the sentiments of the Congressional party. That party saw itself thwarted in its design and put at fault by its failure to secure the wished-for supply of arms, that failure having arisen through the agency of our Government. However correct the course of the United States may have been, the Revolutionists must needs be angered at their disappointment, and it was natural for them to look henceforth with distrust and dislike on the authorities of our country. This dislike centered about the legation of the United States in Santiago. Hon. Patrick Egan, the American

Minister, became unpopular with the Congressionalists because of his supposed favor to the Balmacedan Government. That government still stood. It was recognized by the President of the United States as the government both *de jure* and *de facto* of Chili. Egan must therefore hold relations with Balmaceda and his Minister of Foreign Affairs. He must continue to stand in with the existing order until some other order should be established in its stead.

It appears that our Minister and our Government misapprehended the importance and strength of the revolutionary movement. The Congressionalists steadily gained ground. Perhaps the revolution which was progressing could not be seen in full magnitude from the position occupied by our Minister at the Chilian capital. At all events, the Congressional army came on in full force, and soon pressed the government back to the limits of the capital and the immediate vicinity of that city. Affairs drew to a crisis. A bloody battle was fought at a place called Placilla, near Santiago. The Balmacedists gave way before the storm. The battle of Placilla and a subsequent engagement still nearer to the capital, went against them. The insurgents burst victoriously into Santiago, and the revolution accomplished itself by the overthrow of the existing government. Everything went to wreck. Both Santiago and Valparaiso were taken by the Revolutionary party. The Balmacedists were fugitives in all directions. The Dictator himself fled into hiding, and presently made an end by committing suicide.

In such condition of affairs it was natural that the defeated partisans of the late government should take refuge in the legations of foreign nations at the capital. A Ministerial legation is, under international law, an asylum for refugees. At this time the official residences of the foreign nations at Santiago, with the exception of that of Great Britain, were all crowded more or less with fugitives flying hither for safety from the wrath of the successful Revolutionists. The attitude of Great Britain from the first had been favorable to the Congressional party, and it was evident that that power would now stand in high favor with the victors.

It chanced that the Minister of the United States was by birth an Irishman. He was an Irish agitator and British refugee lately naturalized in America. Probably the antagonistic attitude of Great Britain and the United States at the Chilian capital was attributable in part to the nativity and political principles of Egan. At all events, the American Ministerial residence gave asylum to numbers of the defeated Balmacedists, and the triumphant Revolutionists

grew more and more hostile to our Government and Minister because they could not get at those who were under his protection. This hostility led to the establishment of a police guard and a force of detectives around the American legation! It seemed at times that the place might be attacked and taken by the angry victors in the recent revolution. At length, however, under the protests of our Government, the guards were withdrawn and the legation was freed from surveillance. Relations began to grow amicable once more, when the difficulties suddenly took another and more serious form.

It happened at this time that the war-vessels of several nations visited the harbor of Valparaiso, drawn thither by interest and for the sake of information or the business of the respective navies. Among the ships that came was the United States war-steamer *Baltimore*. On the 16th of October, 1891, a hundred and seventeen petty officers and men, headed by Captain Schley, went on shore by permission, and in the usual way went into the city of Valparaiso. Most of them visited a quarter of the city not reputable in character. It soon became apparent that the ill-informed enmity and malice of the lower classes were strongly excited at the appearance of the men and uniform of the United States on the streets. With the approach of night, and with apparent pre-arrangement, a Chilian mob rose upon the sailors and began an attack. The sailors retreated and attempted to regain their ship; but the mob closed around them, throwing stones, and presently at close quarters using knives and clubs. Eighteen of the sailors were brutally stabbed and beaten, and some died from their injuries. The remainder, leaving the wounded behind them, escaped to the ship.

Intelligence of this event was at once communicated to the Government of the United States. The country was greatly excited over the outrage, and preparations were begun for war. The navy department was ordered to prepare several vessels for the Chilian coast. The great war-ship *Oregon* and two others were equipped, manned and directed to the Pacific shores of South America. The President immediately directed the American Minister at Santiago to demand explanation, apology and reparation for the insult and crime committed against the Government of the United States. The Chilian authorities began to temporize with the situation. A tedious investigation of the riot was undertaken in the courts of Santiago, resulting in an inconsequential verdict.

Meanwhile, Señor M. A. Matta, Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, added fuel to the flame by transmitting an offensive com-

munication to Señor Pedro Montt, representative of the Chilian Government at Washington, in which he reflected on the President of the United States, accused our Government of falsehood, attacked Egan, and ended by instructing Montt to let the contents of the note be known! This was soon followed by another communication from Señor Matta, demanding the recall of Patrick Egan from the Chilian capital, as *persona non grata* to the Government. But he failed to specify the particular qualities or acts in the American Minister which made him unacceptable.

The publication of these two notes brought matters to a crisis. The President, through the proper authorities, demanded that the offensive note of Matta be withdrawn; that the demand for the recall of Egan be reconsidered, and that reparation for the insults and wrongs done to the crew of the *Baltimore* be repaired with ample apology and salute to the American flag by the Chilian Government. Answers to these demands were again delayed, and on the 25th of January, 1892, the President sent an elaborate message to Congress, laying before that body an account of the difficulties, and recommending such action as might be deemed necessary to uphold the honor of the United States. For a single day it looked like war.

Scarcely, however, had the President's message been delivered to Congress when the Chilian Government, receding from its high-toned manner of offence and arrogance, sent, through its Minister of Foreign Affairs, a paper of full apology for the wrongs done, and offering to submit the affair of the *Baltimore* to arbitration of some friendly power. The offensive note of Señor Matta was unconditionally withdrawn. The demand for the removal of Egan was recalled, and indeed all reasonable points in the contention of the President, freely and fully conceded. The crisis broke with the knowledge that the apology of Chili had been received, and like the recent difficulty with Italy over the New Orleans massacre, the imbroglio passed without further alarm or portent of war.

More important still, in the diplomacy of the United States, was the controversy which arose in this quadrennium between our country and Great Britain, relative to the seal fisheries in Behring Sea. The dispute in question was by no means so hot and immediately dangerous as that of the United States and Italy, or the more recent imbroglio with Chili; but it was a more important complication on account of the parties to the controversy. It is one thing for a country like the United States to be involved in a dispute with a country such as Chili, and quite another thing to be on the edge of

hazard with a country such as Great Britain. It cannot be denied that the United States are able, by reputation and authority, to dictate the terms of settlement to the secondary nations, but not to the tremendous power which sits enthroned in the British Isles. Great Britain is a stern and opinionated government, highly self-conscious, and imbued with an arrogant spirit. This is true in particular of all controversies relating to the dominion of the waters.

For a period of years the diplomacy of the governments of England and the United States had run on a low plane. Ever since the settlement of the controversy about the Halifax Fisheries we had had a calm in our international relations. This, however, was broken by the question of the Alaskan seal fisheries which now obtruded itself upon the attention of both governments. Certain Canadian vessels, bearing the English flag, entered Behring Sea, and without regard to the interests of the nations concerned, or respect to those conditions upon which the maintenance of the fisheries depends, began to take seals at random and with a recklessness that must needs attract the attention of our government.

This action on the part of the Canadian ships was declared at once to be in violation of American rights, and the ships were seized. It was avowed by our government that the waters of Behring Sea are not open, but, as we should say in international law, a *mare clausum;* that is, shut up to foreign commerce. The basis of the American claims was the Treaty of Purchase which we had made with Russia in March of 1867. Alaska had been bought by the United States. Russia had sold us not only the land but her *claim* to the sea! Her claim extended as far as complete jurisdiction over the Behring waters.

A glance at the map will show the reader the nature of the waters in controversy. They extend from Behring Strait on the north to the Alaskan Peninsula and the Aleutian Islands on the south, and to a line extending from those islands to the southernmost point of Kamtchatka. The more particular field in contention was that lying between the 160th meridian of longitude, west, and the 170th meridian east from Greenwich. This broad sea-area had been received from Russia under the provisions of a treaty existing between that power and Great Britain going back to the year 1825. Great Britain had acknowledged, strangely enough, the jurisdiction of Russia over Behring Sea; but this was before the importance of the seal fisheries had become known.

The question which arose out of these conditions was an old one.

It was the right of a nation to extend its dominion and establish an exclusive sway over the sea. This claim Great Britain had formerly made and supported in her diplomacy and in her wars; but the claim had been gradually disallowed by the nations; so that in more recent times no nation had attempted to make good her authority over the open waters of the ocean. The United States had formerly contended for the freedom of the high seas. In this particular instance, it became the interest of our country to change position somewhat and to advocate, to a limited extent, the doctrine of *mare clausum*.

The seal fisheries are of immense value and their control by American authority could but be regarded as a matter of vital importance. The question was taken up in 1890 in the diplomatical correspondence of the two countries. The cruisers of the United States were sent into the Behring waters, but were not satisfied with protective general interests; they went out openly and searched and, as above stated, seized the Canadian vessels bearing the flag of England. In justification it was claimed that the action of the British ships in sealing in these waters was *contra bonos mores*, or, as we should say, against international morality.

It was held by the National authorities that the action of the Canadian vessels in free sealing in Behring Sea was a permanent injury to the rights of our government and to the commercial interests of all civilized peoples. The matter was made the basis of protest and counterprotest between the two governments. Great Britain protested sternly against the seizure of the Canadian ships, and these were of necessity liberated. The American government protested against the action of the ships in violating the rights of the United States.

The bottom reason for the action of our government was sufficiently valid. It could not be doubted that free sealing in these waters would presently destroy one of the most important sources of revenue, both to Great Britain and the United States. The killing of seals in the open sea involves the destruction of the female animals in common with the males. The destruction of each female is reckoned to be equal to the loss of three seals for each of the succeeding years of the life of the animal destroyed. It could not be doubted that such indiscriminate sealing would result in the ultimate destruction of the seal fisheries. On the other hand, the prosecution of sealing under proper restrictions would permit the gathering of vast wealth, and, at the same time, consist with the constant increase of the number of seals. It was ascertained that if only male seals of a

given age should be taken and this only between the first of November and the middle of the following April in each year, then the seals could go on increasing in numbers and supporting the supply of fur-bearing pelts.

The whole controversy turned about this question. The correspondence was conducted between Mr. Blaine, the American Secretary of State, and Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister. More than two years were occupied in the discussion and it was finally agreed with great moderation and good sense to refer the controversy to a joint high tribunal to be constituted by the two governments — that is, to an arbitration of the questions between the parties. In accordance with this method of settlement, a commission was appointed to meet in Paris, France, in February, 1893. The dispute dragged on to the end of the Harrison administration and was carried over for final settlement to the beginning of the second term of Cleveland.

The arbiters selected in the cause were seven in number. Two of them were chosen on behalf of the United States by President Harrison; two others by the British government, and three others on the joint request of the President of the French Republic, the King of Italy and the King of Norway and Sweden. The members of the tribunal were, for the United States, Justice John M. Harlan, of the Supreme Court, and Senator John T. Morgan, of Alabama. Those for Great Britain were Lord James Hannen and Sir John Thompson, of Canada. The commissioner named by the President of France was the Baron de Courcel; by the King of Italy, the Marquis Emillo Visconti-Venesta; and by the King of Sweden and Norway, Judge Gram, of the Supreme Court of Christiana.

Besides these distinguished personages there were agents and attorneys for the two governments. On behalf of Great Britain, Sir Charles Russell and Sir Charles E. Tupper were appointed as counsel; on behalf of the United States appeared Honorable E. J. Phelps, Honorable James C. Carter, Honorable F. R. Coudert and Judge Blodgett of the Supreme Court, together with Honorable John W. Foster, Secretary of State. The tribunal, after meeting in a preliminary way at the appointed time, adjourned until the 22d of March, 1893, when the actual work of arbitration was undertaken. The questions submitted to the body for solution were the following:

1. **What exclusive jurisdiction in the sea known as the Behring Sea, and what exclusive rights in the seal fisheries therein, did Russia assert and exercise prior and up to the time of the cession of Alaska to the United States?**

2. How far were these claims of jurisdiction as to the seal fisheries recognized and conceded by Great Britain?

3. Was the body of water known as the Behring Sea included in the phrase "Pacific Ocean," as used in the treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia, and what rights, if any, in the Behring Sea were held and exclusively exercised by Russia after said treaty?

4. Did not all the rights of Russia as to jurisdiction and as to the seal fisheries in Behring Sea, east of the water boundary, in the treaty between the United States and Russia of the 30th of March, 1867, pass unimpaired to the United States under that treaty?

5. Has the United States any right, and, if so, what right, of protection of property in the fur-seals frequenting the islands of the United States in Behring Sea, when such seals are found outside of the ordinary three-mile limit?

While the discussions of the tribunal were necessarily prolonged and the decision for a while postponed, the great historical lesson was again impressed on the nations. It was seen that the leading governments of the English-speaking world had committed themselves fully to the principle of arbitration, and that the example must soon be followed by all the civilized States of Christendom.

About the middle of Harrison's administration, the attention of the American people, and of the government in particular, was turned to the question of restoring American influence on the high-seas. The public interest in this direction was manifested in two ways: first, in the strengthening of the American navy, and secondly, in the attempt to regain the carrying and passenger trade between Europe and the United States. The latter had gone for a long time to the Marine of England. During Harrison's administration great outlays were made for the improvement of the Navy. This was suggested in part by the difficulties with Italy and Chili, both of which portended war, that, had it occurred, in the nature of the case must be prosecuted by the sea.

We had found ourselves in these crises lamentably deficient in the means of making war on the ocean. This fact led to the construction of new war-ships of the most improved patterns and the largest dimensions. Of this kind was the great steamer *Indiana*, the largest ship in the possession of the government, and among the most formidable of the floating war-vessels of the world. The *Indiana* was completed and launched in the latter part of 1892. While it is certainly not the true policy of the United States to make war, or to assume the war-like manners and methods of the European Powers, it nevertheless seemed to be necessary that the government should make itself more feared on the sea than it had been since the Civil War.

More pacific and commendable was the effort to regain ascendency in the matter of communication across the Atlantic. The reviving spirit of the country was shown in this regard by the transfer, in February of 1893, of the splendid passenger steamer *New York* from the flag of England to that of the United States. The event was regarded with much interest by the public as it seemed to denote the revival of American honor in the competition with the mother country for the carrying and passenger trade between our seaboard and the ports of Western Europe. The transfer of flags on the *New York* was made the occasion in the harbor of the metropolis of a public day, and the raising of the Stars and Stripes over the great steamer was hailed with national applause.

In the after part of the administration of Harrison the financial condition of the government became a source of anxiety, not only to the party in power, but to the country at large. It will be remembered that at the close of the administration of Cleveland a large surplus had accumulated in the Treasury of the United States, and that this fact was made the basis of party controversy in the campaign of 1888. The Republican party, coming into power, was put to the necessity of reducing the surplus and was, at the same time, under pledge of maintaining the tariff system, by the action of which the surplus had accumulated.

How, then, should these two ends be attained? Practically, the policy adopted was one of enormous expenditure. The already prodigious public outlay began to be augmented, rather with the motive of reducing the surplus than for any intrinsic public good. Each year witnessed an ever-increasing list of extravagances. The pension roll was enlarged; river improvements were sought out, and almost every avenue of expenditure discovered, with the immediate purpose of relieving the plethora of the Treasury, and the ultimate design of saving the system of protection.

By these means the expenses of the government were increased in the last year of Harrison's administration to more than a billion dollars! The Treasury was indeed reduced but, at the same time, a system of things was instituted which overdid itself, and, as the administration drew to a close, the country was aroused to the fact that there was imminent danger of a National deficit.

This state of facts worked both ways. While the Republicans gloried in the reduction of the surplus and the scattering broadcast of the vast accumulations of the Treasury to the industries of the country, the Democrats raised the cry of reckless extravagance and

threatened bankruptcy. It was with the greatest difficulty that Secretary Foster of the Treasury Department was able, at the close of the year 1892, to pull his accounts together, so that the administration might go out of power with even the appearance of validity remaining behind it.

In the field of pure politics there was now much activity. The management of both parties looked anxiously to the condition of public affairs, and sought to draw therefrom such policies as might prove successful in the presidential contest of 1892. There was a mixture of principles and personalities. On the whole, the personalities predominated. On the Democratic side, there was never a time in the quadrennium when ex-President Cleveland did not appear as the leader of his party and the logical candidate of his party for re-election to the presidency. It was his influence and policy that had determined the whole existing condition of party controversy. The question of a reform of the revenue system of the United States, involving a complete change in the theory of customs-duties, was uppermost, and this was connected with various financial questions, including the paramount dispute about the free coinage of silver.

On the Republican side, there was considerable confusion as to the candidate to be named and the policy to be adopted. Undoubtedly, James G. Blaine, Secretary of State, was the favorite of the masses of his party. Other leaders had meanwhile appeared with claims more or less well grounded, to the support of their party. As to President Harrison, he desired a re-election, and, although he was not preferred by the rank and file of the party that had supported him in 1888, he was cordially endorsed by the large and powerful office-holding classes of the country. These were unanimous for his re-election. They were unable to see in any other candidate the prospect of advantage and that political salvation which the politician always seems so anxious to secure.

On the whole, the advantage was in Harrison's favor. Mr. Blaine held office in the cabinet, and could not well permit his ambitions and those of his friends to be promoted at the expense of the ambitions of the President. It was with difficulty that amicable relations were maintained in the cabinet in the third year of the administration, and with the beginning of the fourth a break seemed to be always imminent. At length Mr. Blaine, after much annoyance, published a card declining to be a candidate before the approaching Republican National Convention at Minneapolis; but the card was

not regarded by his more enthusiastic followers as final. It was said that if, without being a candidate, he should receive the nomination, he would accept.

The National Convention of the Administration Party was appointed to meet on the 7th day of June, in the City of Minneapolis. Mr. Blaine continued in his office of Secretary of State until the eve of the Convention, and then suddenly and peremptorily resigned. The resignation was accepted in like terms of official coldness and brevity. These facts were regarded as a signal to the Blaine following, and they immediately began to advocate the nomination of the ex-Secretary. The office-holding classes of the Republican party went to the Convention in solid phalanx, supported by a respectable part of the party in general, and in particular by the manufacturing and protected interests of the country. These prevailed, and on the third day of the Convention the renomination of the President was effected. Blaine's retirement from the cabinet had come too late. His flame flared up fitfully at the Convention, and then went out. He was the setting sun, and men do not worship the setting sun.

The nomination for the vice-presidency was given to Honorable Whitelaw Reid, of New York. For some reason of his own, Vice-President Morton was not a candidate for renomination. It was deemed expedient, however, that New York should be honored with the second place on the ticket, and Mr. Reid was the favorite of both the administration and the party at large. He was, at the time, the representative of the Government of the United States to that of the French Republic. He had been one of the great journalists who received, at the beginning of the Harrison administration, recognition by appointment to the first diplomatical positions in a gift of the President. He had recently returned to the United States, and the New York *Tribune*, which he controlled, had been made a powerful support in the work of renominating Harrison and incidentally securing the second place to its editor.

Meanwhile, the Democratic party rallied its forces and on the 21st of June, the National Convention of that party met in the city of Chicago. Mr. Cleveland was the favorite of the masses of his party for the nomination, but in his own State there was a powerful and well-organized effort to defeat him. The Tammany Society of New York City, controlling the Democratic forces in the State, was firmly set against the ex-President, and left no stone unturned to prevent his selection as the standard-bearer in the approaching canvass. With this party, Senator David B. Hill was the favorite, and the New York

delegation was sent to Chicago instructed in his interest. But the political machinery of the Empire State, supported as it was by certain malcontent elements in other States, was not able to prevail against the overwhelming sentiment in favor of Cleveland, and he was easily renominated. The second place on the ticket was given to Honorable Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois.

The People's party now displayed itself in greater strength than ever before. Throughout a large part of the West, the new political organization showed such vitality as seriously to threaten the integrity of the old parties. The claims of the People's organization to be in sympathy with the demands of the masses as against the organized powers of wealth and manufacture, were recognized as having in them a measure of justice, and the public sentiment in the West was strongly displayed at the National Convention of the party which was held in Omaha on the 2d of July.

When the Convention assembled it was evident that the preferences of the delegates for Judge Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois, would assure his nomination; but the Judge, while the Convention was in session, declined to permit the use of his name, and the nomination went by common consent to the old and tried leader of the party, General James B. Weaver, of Iowa. Associated on the ticket with him was Judge James G. Field, of Virginia.

The platform of the new party declared for the free coinage of silver; for the radical reform of the revenue system of the United States, and for the control of the railways and telegraphs of the country by the government, in the interest of the people. There were also other declarations in favor of a system of banking and loans to the people on security of farm property, and the like. The clause in favor of the free coinage of silver was the prevalent one and drew to the support of the ticket a large following in all parts of the country where the sentiment in favor of paying the debts of the people by the bimetallic standard prevailed.

The presidential canvass of 1892 was conducted in an apathetic manner. It was found impossible to arouse the masses of the people to the usual pitch of enthusiasm and party combat. With the progress of the campaign it became evident that the candidates of the Democratic party were strongly in the lead. The popularity of Cleveland was never before displayed in so strong a manner. It amounted to a public confidence against which no party machinery could well prevail. The Republican leaders continued the battle until the day of election came, but with ever diminishing prospects of success. The

result was the election of Cleveland and by a majority so overwhelming as to mark a political revolution. By the same event the control of both the Senate and the House of Representatives passed to the Democratic party. The electoral vote in favor of Cleveland was 276, against 145 for President Harrison and 23 votes for General Weaver. Thus, by a decisive and unmistakable verdict, the political destinies of the Republic were entrusted for the ensuing quadrennium to that party which had gone out of power with Buchanan in 1861, and had never, in the interim, gained possession of the Executive and both branches of the Legislative departments of the government.

The election was quickly followed by the last scene in the life of James G. Blaine. That statesman had suffered many hardships and disappointments in his public and his personal career. Soon after the Minneapolis Convention, his son, Emmons Blaine, suddenly sickened and died at Chicago. Already the Honorable Walker Blaine, upon whom his father had placed his principal expectations, and Mrs. Alice Coppinger, the statesman's daughter, had died at Washington. The family was decimated. Mr. Blaine's political fortunes had now gone utterly to wreck. There was no longer a shadow of hope of the revival of those great ambitions by which he had been employed for fully a quarter of a century. He might not even aspire to reappear prominently in the councils of the nation; for the opposing party had come into power; the Senate was full as to its membership, and the appointive officers were at the disposal of a Democratic president.

Mr. Blaine might be regarded as a heart-broken man. His health had already become precarious; indeed, for sixteen years he had been under stress and alarm with respect to the failure of his physical powers. In the late autumn of 1892, he became prostrated at his home in Washington City and it was soon known that his days were numbered. He sank under an accumulation of ills, the most fatal of which was Bright's disease, and his mind as well as his body yielded to the attack. He lingered until the beginning of the new year, when the heart's action became enfeebled and his life was limited to a few days.

Much uncertainty existed in the public mind and great interest was manifested in the condition and decline of the distinguished patient. At last, death came suddenly, unexpectedly. On the morning of January 27, 1893, Mr. Blaine was found by his physicians to be in a sinking condition. His constitution no longer reacted under the most powerful stimulants, and at 11 o'clock, on the forenoon of the

day referred to, he died in quietude and peace. Instantly the event was known and was flashed by wire to the remotest corners of the Republic.

The funeral of the statesman was as private as such an event could be in Washington City. His body was placed in one of the rooms of the old Seward House, in Lafayette Square, and was there viewed by friends until Monday the 30th of January, when the funeral ceremony was held in the Church of the Covenant. Afterwards the body was interred in the cemetery at Georgetown, in a spot selected by the statesman as his last resting-place.

We need not in this connection dwell upon the life and services of James G. Blaine. Without doubt he was, for a considerable period at an important epoch of our country's history, one of its most distinguished and able of our public men. He had great talents and great ambitions. His character, though somewhat enigmatical, was nevertheless of the highest type so far as his statesmanship and patriotism were concerned. His leadership of his party was brilliant; his following was enthusiastic, and his general influence strong and enduring. Though he failed to reach the presidency, his career was so conspicuous and, on the whole, successful, as to entitle him to rank with the great names that have brightened our country's history in its era of statesmanship — with Clay and Webster of the middle of the century, and with Sumner and Conkling of the later period.

CHAPTER LXXIII.

SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND.

THE re-election of Grover Cleveland to the presidency was an event of peculiar significance. No such fact had hitherto been known in our history. On seven former occasions Presidents had been re-elected to the chief magistracy while holding that office; but in no case had one who had retired from office been re-chosen for a second term. The record of precedent was thus broken in the election of 1892. The successful candidate had indeed been President, but he had been for four years out of office, and had no longer at his disposal the powerful official array which has shown itself so efficient in presidential elections. Mr. Cleveland was obliged to begin the canvass as any other citizen, supported only by his prestige as a former chief magistrate and by the fealty of his party. The event showed that in addition to these elements of strength he had also a powerful independent following in all parts of the country, adhering not only to his personal and political fortunes, but believing steadfastly in the principles and policies which he so strenuously represented.

We have already presented in a former chapter a sketch of the previous career of this remarkable public character. It is not needed that we should here recount the events of his past life or of his administration as President of the United States. It is appropriate, however, that we should emphasize somewhat the remarkable ascendency which he had gained over the public mind. His pre-eminence was by no means that of a partisan, but rather that of a public man who had risen to influence by the sternness and persistency of his political views, and the honesty with which he had followed them to their legitimate results.

These traits of character were shown in full measure at the beginning of Cleveland's second term in the presidency. It was manifested at the very start by his course in selecting the members of his cabinet. At the head of that body he placed Judge Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois, who had been, until the last canvass, a lifelong Republican leader. He had been prominently advocated for the presidential nomination in 1888, and during the Harrison admin-

istration there were many who had looked to him as the standard-bearer of his party in 1892. Meanwhile, the growing People's party had laid claim to Judge Gresham as their favorite, and it could not be doubted that he would have received the nomination of that party if he had consented to accept it. He was known to be a man of the people as well as a party leader. He was recognized everywhere as an able and upright judge, without flaw or blemish in his political or judicial character. With respect to the reform of the revenue system and one or two other items of Democratic policy, he came to be in agreement with the President; but it was no doubt the conviction of Mr. Cleveland in the personal and official integrity of Gresham that led to the selection of the latter for the important place of Secretary of State in the new cabinet.

The second place, that of Secretaryship of the Treasury, was given to ex-Senator John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky, whose ascendency in his party and his views on the question of the currency recommended him strongly for the place. The appointment of Secretary of War was given to Honorable Daniel S. Lamont, of New York, who had been intimately associated with President Cleveland as his private Secretary during his first term of service. Honorable Wilson S. Bissell, of New York, was made Postmaster-General, and Richard Olney, of Massachusetts, Attorney-General. The position of Secretary of the Navy was assigned to Honorable Hillary A. Herbert, of Alabama, whose influence and rank in the South were such as to suggest him for the place. The appointment of Secretary of the Interior was given to Honorable Hoke Smith, of Georgia, a second representative of the Southern Democracy. The place of Secretary of Agriculture was given to Honorable J. Sterling Morton, of Nebraska, thus completing the cabinet. One of the peculiarities of Mr. Cleveland's method was his naming of the cabinet officers before the day of inauguration. The appointments were given out in advance, and the usual excitement and controversy about places in the cabinet were thus avoided.

Much curiosity was shown by the public as to the policy of the President in his general official appointments. He was known to be committed to the doctrine of civil-service reform, and to be strongly opposed to the removal of officers for merely political reasons. These qualities were manifested in the appointments which he now made to the principal positions at his disposal. In filling such places as were vacant he adopted certain maxims, one of which was, that those who had held office under him formerly should not do so a second time.

Another was, that fitness and competency should be considered as the prime requisites in applicants for office, and that competent officials should not be removed until their official terms had expired. It was said, also, that the President decided not to appoint, as his predecessor had done, the great editors of the country to public office. The course pursued by President Harrison in this respect had reacted strongly against him. That chief magistrate had adopted the policy of filling his principal foreign appointments with the proprietors and editors of the great journals and magazines of the country, as if with a view to the control of public opinion. But the ruse was quickly discovered, and public opinion reacted against such a method of keeping a party in power. Mr. Cleveland went to the opposite extreme, and selected his foreign ministers with strict avoidance of the editorial profession. On the whole, it should be allowed that the new President was personally one of the most conspicuous, as well as one of the most determined, leaders of public policy who had held the presidency since the Civil War.

The coming of the year 1892 strongly suggested the celebration in the United States of the FOURTH CENTENNIAL OF THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY COLUMBUS. It was reasonable to suppose that the other powers would concede to our country and people the honor of leading the nations in a jubilee fittingly commemorative of the revelation of the New World to mankind by the adventure and heroism of the Man of Genoa, four hundred years before. A movement was accordingly made for holding a WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, and the cities of the United States began to contend for the honor.

Congress signified a willingness to hear the claims and proposals of the contestants. Washington City, New York, Chicago and St. Louis entered the lists to secure the location, each with an agreement to provide suitable grounds and to raise by subscription the sum of $5,000,000 with which to erect buildings for the purpose. Chicago submitted her claims with an agreement to raise $10,000,000 for the Exposition. Each city sent delegations of prominent citizens to press their respective claims before Congress. A decisive vote, after eight ballots, was reached by that body on February 24, 1890, the result being as follows: For Chicago, 157; for New York, 107; for St. Louis, 25; for Washington City, 18. It was thus determined by a very decisive majority that the Fair should be held in Chicago, and the leading citizens of that city took the preliminary steps for forming an organization under the laws of Illinois, taking as a title, "The World's Columbian Exposition of 1892."

As early as the 25th of April a formal Act was passed by Congress providing for the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. This should be done by holding an international exhibition of arts, industries, manufactures and the products of the soil, mine and sea. Chicago was accepted as the site of the exhibition and jubilee. A World's Columbian Commission was authorized, and the 12th of October, 1892, was named as the date for the dedication of the buildings.

Early in May, 1891, a Columbian Corporation was formed in Chicago to promote the great enterprise. A Woman's Department was created by act of Congress, and women were recognized in full fellowship with men in the conduct of the Exposition. A board of control and management was appointed by the Government. An analysis of the Exposition into fifteen departments was made. The President, in accordance with these measures, issued a proclamation inviting all the nations of the earth to participate in the Columbian celebration.

It was thus arranged that the buildings for the great Exposition should be dedicated October 2, 1892, and that the formal opening to visitors should occur in May, 1893. It was found, however, that the buildings could not be completed by the designated date, and the ceremonies were accordingly postponed to the 21st of October, 1892.

After much investigation, the World's Fair Corporation chose Jackson Park and the Midway Plaisance, a tract of 663 acres on the Lake Front of Chicago, about five miles from the central parts of the city, as the site for the Exposition. Subscription papers were opened, and large sums were subscribed to promote the enterprise. An appeal was made to Congress for additional aid, but the application was bitterly opposed by a large number of influential members, and upon a vote the scheme was defeated. But a compromise was reached by which the Government agreed to issue souvenir coins, of the value of fifty cents each, to the amount of $2,500,000; and these were turned over at their face value to the World's Fair directors, who were privileged to dispose of them at whatever advantage they could obtain.

The next measure was the preparation of Jackson Park for the uses of the Exposition. The grounds required the expenditure of great sums of money and an incalculable amount of labor. Waterways had to be dredged, so as to admit sailing craft through the devious channels of a natural lagoon. Half a million dollars were

spent in accomplishing this work, while as much more was expended on landscape gardening, fountains, observatories, statuary, etc. This outlay of a million dollars was but the beginning of the cost of the total improvements amounting to about $20,000,000.

At the time named for the dedicatory services the success of the structural part of the Exposition had already been assured. Nearly all the towns in the United States meanwhile celebrated the quadricentennial of the discovery of America. New York City, in particular, had a great observance of the event. The ceremonies in the metropolis began on the 10th of October, and the first public parade was that of the school children of the city, of whom 25,000 were in line. This procession was reviewed by the President of the United States and by the leading officers of the City of New York.

On the following day there was a great naval parade in the harbor, in which the flags of nine of the principal nations were displayed. The City of New York had never before been so greatly thronged with visitors. During the parade the shores of the bay were lined with excited spectators, who stood for hours watching with unabated interest the lines of ships that steamed in solemn procession from Gravesend Bay to the foot of One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street. A perfect day bathed the city with sunshine, while a refreshing breeze invigorated the spectators. A grander sight had not been witnessed since the Spanish Armada sailed out of Lisbon, in 1588, with the vain hope of subjugating the British Isles.

After the celebration in New York came the dedicatory ceremonies in Chicago. By the 18th of the month the crowds began to pour into that city from all parts of the United States and from foreign countries. It was estimated that one million visitors arrived in three days. No such throng had ever hitherto gathered on a festal occasion. The pent-up enthusiasm of a century broke forth in a tidal wave. Four hundred years, with their blessings and marvelous progress, were to make the offering of a world's applause, and to receive the libations of a world's gratitude.

The first formal part of the festivities was an inaugural reception, banquet and ball in the great building called the Auditorium. This occurred on the evening of the 19th of October. About four thousand of the most distinguished men and women in America, inclusive of many representatives of foreign powers, were invited. Owing to the illness of the wife of President Harrison he was unable to be present in person, and the duties which he was expected to perform devolved upon Vice-President Levi P. Morton.

The gathering was one of the most distinguished and *élite* ever known on earth. All that wealth and beauty could contribute was lavishly displayed. The President's Cabinet, judges of the Supreme Court, diplomatic corps, governors, army officers, mayors of leading cities, World's Fair officials, and the fairest women in the land were gathered at the banquet. The reception and ball were given in the Auditorium, but the banquet was spread on the top floor of the adjoining Studebaker Building, which had been made an annex by cutting arched passages connecting it with the Auditorium.

On the following day occurred the great military and civic parade. About a hundred thousand men were in the line of march. Numberless bodies were uniformed. The crowds along the way were indescribable in number and enthusiasm. Through the whole distance from the central part of the city to Jackson Park the sidewalks were lined with a mass of human beings. Meanwhile, all the avenues, hotels, and conveyances were thronged. Michigan Avenue and the lake front seemed to be a solid mass of people. The nodding plumes of advancing cavalrymen were seen toward the south, followed by troop after troop, wheeling into line, and forming in front of the Auditorium, where they were joined by four batteries of artillery. The regulars were an escort to the Vice-President, Cabinet, judges of the Supreme Court, and other dignitaries of Church and State, who were to take part in the exercises. Every adjacent street was lined with carriages, waiting for the distinguished occupants; twenty rounds from the batteries were the signal for the march to begin.

The command-in-chief of the procession had been assigned to General Nelson A. Miles, who, with his staff and the select company of cavalrymen, rode at the head of the tremendous column. The uniforms and caparisons were brilliant. After the first squadron came a mounted military band, with another troop of cavalry in a solid line twelve deep. Then came a troop of white cavalry, and another of Indian and Negro dragoons, while behind was a regular battery. Then followed a section of the National Guard, preceding sixty Toledo cadets on bicycles. In the rear was a long line of carriages bearing the distinguished personages who were to officiate in the dedication, led by Vice-President Morton, who was accompanied by President Potter Palmer of the World's Fair Commission. Then came other carriages filled with Cabinet members, judges, governors, and the World's Fair officials, the whole forming a procession more than a mile in length.

The Building of Manufactures and Liberal Arts was selected as the scene for the special dedicatory services. One hundred and fifty thousand invitations had been issued. Seats were provided for 120,000 persons, *and every seat was filled.* It is probable that no other civic exercise ever witnessed on the globe was equally imposing. The enthusiasm ran high. The program was carried through with the greatest success. The night jubilee consisted of the grandest display of fireworks that the world had ever seen. Three exhibitions were arranged to take place simultaneously: in Washington Park on the south, Lincoln Park on the north, and Garfield Park on the west side, each display being a counterpart of the other, and the programs identical. It is estimated that more than half a million people were witnesses of the three displays.

One conspicuous feature of the pyrotechnics consisted of representations of the American flag floating in the sky at a height of two thousand feet from the earth. The design, which was three hundred feet in length, was perhaps the most ambitious ever attempted in aërial work. The management was entrusted to Professor Baldwin, the aëronaut, who went up in a balloon, lighted the fuse, and loosed the flag. A marvelous thing followed. Almost instantly the banner spread itself like a canopy, and, taking fire, burned for five minutes with all its colors intensified, thus affording a spectacle of grandeur that had never been exceeded at any pyrotechnic exhibition.

All of the 20th and 21st of October was consumed with the parade and ceremonies of dedication. By the evening of the second date named the crowds began to disperse. Never before had the traveling accommodations of Chicago, or perhaps of any city, been so severely tested. But the facilities withstood the trial. It was agreed that the introductory ceremonies were worthy of the congratulations and plaudits, not only of our own people, but of the people of the whole world. Thus, in the autumn of 1892, a beginning was made for the celebration of the Four Hundreth Anniversary of the Discovery of the New World.

Meanwhile the interval between the dedication of the buildings for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago and the opening of that Exposition in the following May was filled with the Presidential election, with the excitements consequent thereon, and with the change of administration on the 4th of March, 1893.

The victorious Democratic party again went into power, not only in the Executive Department, but in both branches of Congress.

In the Senate, however, the majority of that party was so small and unstable as to make uncertain any measures other than those upon which there was complete harmony of opinion. President Cleveland went back to the White House with a tremendous support from the people at large, and only a modified support from his own party.

The new Cabinet was constituted as follows: Secretary of State, Walter Q. Gresham, of Illinois; Secretary of the Treasury, John G. Carlisle, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Daniel S. Lamont, of New York; Secretary of the Navy, Hilary S. Herbert, of Alabama; Secretary of the Interior, Hoke Smith, of Georgia; Postmaster-General, Wilson S. Bissell, of New York; Secretary of Agriculture, J. S. Morton, of Nebraska; Attorney-General, Richard Olney, of Massachusetts.

In the President's inaugural address, he followed the obvious lines of his well-known policy. He dwelt in particular upon the necessity of a complete reform in the revenue system of the United States, urging upon Congress the duty of substituting for high protection the policy of custom-duties for revenue, with only such incidental protective features as might appear in the nature of the case. From the very beginning, however, it was manifest that the adoption of the new policy was to be hampered and impeded by every kind of cross-purpose known to legislative bodies, and in particular by the interests of those who were the representatives of the protected industries.

With the subsidence of the excitement attending the change of administration in the spring of 1893, the attention and interest of the people were soon turned to a more pleasing aspect of the civilized life. The coming of the day for the opening of the Columbian Exposition was eagerly awaited. It had been intended that the event should coincide with the first week in May; but the last of the month was reached before the enterprise was sufficiently forward to admit of the opening.

On the 31st day of May the formal ceremony occurred. President Cleveland had the honor of pressing an electrical button which set in motion all the immense machinery with which the buildings and displays in Jackson Park had been provided. It was a day of great jubilation. The firing of cannon, the waving of flags, the playing of bands, were the vehement manifestations of the general rejoicing. The marvelous "White City" of architectual splendors now presented a sight that was dazzlingly beautiful. To the visitor it seemed a dream of Oriental magnificence, affording such an object-

lesson of energy, capacity and genius as no other country had ever revealed.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the opening, much yet remained to be done before the Exposition could be regarded as fully under way. During the whole of June and the greater part of July the disturbing sounds of saw and hammer were heard. Wagons still rumbled on the boulevards, and unsightly scaffolding was seen here and there, but at length all of this disturbance was over; the exhibits were disposed in their respective places, and the great Fair was on in its perfected grandeur. The transformation of Jackson Park was one of the most extraordinary scenes ever witnessed on the earth. The vast area had been converted from a wild, semi-chaotic covert of tangled brush-wood and noxious marsh into a Heliopolis of splendor, made beautiful by the sublimest arts that ever found expression in visible forms.

The largest structure of the Exposition was the so-called Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building. It had been more proper to define this edifice as the Building of Manufactures and Industrial Arts. The liberal arts are usually supposed to merge into the fine arts proper and to be nearly identical therewith. The structure under consideration was devoted to industries and manufactured products. It occupied an area of thirty acres, lifting its imperious towers to an altitude of two hundred and fifty feet. The building was the largest structure ever reared on earth; but its size was its greatest claim to pre-eminence. Many of the other buildings were more admirable for beauty and adaptation. So varied, so select, so excellent, so beautiful, so artistic and so gigantic were these edifices that all the wealth of the globe seemed to be here gathered and exposed as the expression of peace triumphant.

Great architectural skill had been brought to the scene, and great variety was shown in the designs of the different buildings. In the style and grouping, however, there was a remarkable harmony — a blending of color and design as charming as it was unique. The material used in the construction was necessarily perishable — to the end that the most imposing effects might be produced at a minimum of cost. It required a genius of economy to construct a magnificent palace at the expense of a few thousand dollars, but the genius was not wanting for the work. A cheap material was found in "staff," a composition of cement and plaster-of-Paris, possessing little endurance, but having, when properly applied, the appearance of white stone. Over the skeleton structure of the

several buildings this composition was laid, giving to them the appearance of marble palaces. The embellishment of statuary was added in the same manner. The roadways were artistically laid out, and substantially made of macadam, with a top dressing of red gravel, while the lagoon of stagnant water was converted into a romantic canal that wound through the Park in a most picturesque manner.

The arrangement of such a canal must needs suggest Venice and romantic watercraft. A number of electrical launches and gondolas were accordingly prepared to carry the throngs of passengers around the lagoons. There was also an intramural railway to facilitate communication. The wide circuit of the great area was thus traversed with aërial coaches, running at a high rate of speed. Another device was the movable sidewalk, which was constructed on the principle of the endless chain. Passengers might step upon the moving platform and step off while it was in motion. The sidewalk was extended out over the lake to the distance of a thousand feet, so that passengers might have a water view of the buildings and grounds. Roller and invalid chairs were also provided as a means of conveyance for those who were enfeebled by disease or worn with age.

An adequate description of the exhibits of the World's Columbian Exposition would require volumes to contain it. The Fair might be regarded as a sort of universal, commercial and ethnographic congress, in which were brought together all conceivable products of forge, loom, field and finger; a place where gathered all races of men, from the Esquimaux to the Equatorial blacks, and where cannibal savagery shook hands with the highest types of civilization.

We cannot in this connection delineate the innumerable and wonderful displays which were made by the nations of the earth in their respective spheres. Some of the more important exhibits, however, cannot be dismissed without particular mention. Beginning with the Government Building the visitor at the Exposition would find both the structure and the display to be second only in importance to that witnessed in the case of the Building of Manufactures and Liberal Arts. In the Government Building were displayed the most ancient as well as the most improved implements of war. Here were gathered the firelocks, fuses, arquebusses, matchlocks, blunderbusses and other obsolete fire-arms, arranged in such a manner as to show the evolution of weaponry — to display, in comparison with the latest revolving breech-loading arms and the heaviest cannon for coast defences, the rudest weapons of savagery.

Beside these was placed an arsenal in which the machinery for boring great guns was in operation, and the making of cartridges was illustrated by the actual industry. All the arts of war were admirably represented by figures in proper uniform; the pontoon corps, sappers and miners, the topographic corps, signal corps, field hospitals, and effigies of privates, officers, troopers and foot soldiers, with the uniforms and accoutrements of the whole world militant were seen at a *coup d'œil*.

In connection with the Government Building and as a department thereof was the fishery exhibit. In this were displayed examples of nearly every fresh- and salt-water fish and fur-bearing pelagic

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT BUILDING.

animal. A large fish-hatching establishment was also shown in operation, and a display was made of boats and implements used in the whale, cod, and sturgeon fisheries.

In a sort of park, between the Government Building and the lake, was an exhibit of ordnance, such as rifled cannon, mortars, and rapid-firing guns. Here, also, were to be seen in sections the heavy ship-armor, which at that time had recently come into use. Some of the pieces had been under test, and were pierced to a greater or less extent by the steel-pointed shells which had been fired against them. In the lake near by lay a full-sized battle-ship, with guns mounted, and the full complement of men and officers. Here also was a life-saving station with full equipment of boats and accessories. The numerous white tents, in which the members were quartered, added

to the general appearance of an army encamped in the midst of the tremendous implements of war.

A boat of special interest was the curious Viking Ship, from Norway. This peculiar vessel, manned by a crew of Norwegian sailors, was moored close to the shore near the battle-ship. It was a copy, down to the minutest detail of construction, of the ship found at Gokstad, Norway, in 1889 — a vessel supposed to have sailed the seas one thousand years ago. The old relic of the Vikings is now sacredly preserved in the National Museum at Christiania. The new, like the old, was an open boat, seventy-five feet in length over all, sixty-seven and one-half feet at the water-line, and sixty feet of keel. The propulsion was by means of a square sail, or by oars when the weather permitted their use.

It was in this open boat, in the early summer of 1893, that Captain Magnus Anderson with eleven companions braved the Atlantic, from Bergen, Norway, to the New England coast. He arrived at New London, Conn., after forty-three days. The adventurers had encountered several storms; but for the greater part they had fair wind and smooth sailing. The average rate of speed was between ten and twelve miles an hour. The achievement was significant. The feat of Anderson and his men made that of the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta* and the *Nina* seem insignificant. It was in such a craft, or canoe, that Leif Ericson made his voyage from Greenland to the then unknown regions of the midnight land of the West in the year 1001; such a vessel was the first propelled by white men to touch the shores of the New World. The successful passage of the Atlantic by this frail craft must effectually remove all doubt as to the ability of Ericson, Thorfinn Karlsefne and Björne, those adventurous Vikings of the tenth century, to accomplish the voyages accredited to them in the Sagas.

It was but natural that everything relating to Columbus and his immortal voyage should be set in bold relief. One of the expedients of the Spanish Government was to reproduce the fleet in which the discoverer made his first voyage to the New World. Three vessels were accordingly prepared and named for the originals. They were manned by Spanish crews, and everything was in strict likeness to the ships in which Columbus sailed. These vessels were anchored near the Viking Ship, as if to compare the vessels of the tenth century with those of the fifteenth. They had sailed from Palos and followed the Columbian track to America. They were, however, escorted by cruisers of the United States and by a Spanish

man-of-war. The squadron arrived at Hampton Roads, April 21, 1893. This water had been selected as the place of rendezvous of the foreign and American navies that appeared in the great naval parade in New York. After their participation in that great event, the three vessels were sent in tow, by way of the St. Lawrence and the lake route, to Chicago, where they arrived in due season, and were given a national welcome.

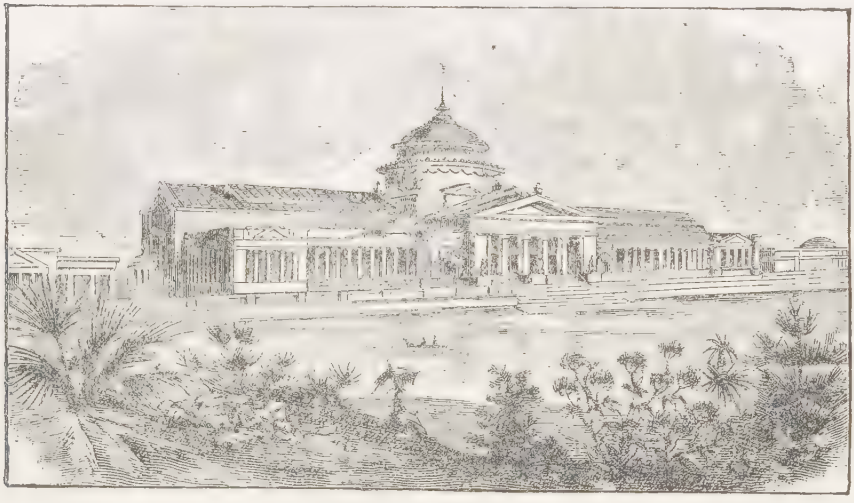
Another reproduction of like interest was that of the Convent of La Rabida, at Palos, in which Columbus in the days of his adversity was wont to lodge. La Rabida was the refuge in which Father Perez had his abode ; and he it was who administered food and comfort to the Man of Genoa and his half-starved son Diego. Every detail of the convent was a reproduction of La Rabida. Its quaint rooms were filled with Columbian relics, including a casket in which reposed for a while the bones of the great discoverer.

The peaceable progress of mankind illustrated in these old ships of trans-Atlantic adventure was contrasted with one of the shore exhibits not far away. This was the display of the great guns of Krupp, such as are used in fortresses and on men-of-war. In this display might be seen the heaviest artillery ever produced to that date. One piece in particular attracted the attention of all. Above its fellow-engines of destruction was a 122-ton gun, the largest that the great German cannon-maker had ever produced. It constituted a wonder worth miles of travel to see. The 1,200-pound projectile lay in a cradle of the hydraulic loading crane beside the gun, and likewise a canister bag containing 600 pounds of powder to be used in propelling the tremendous thunderbolt to a distance of twenty miles. This immense gun, and its machinery for loading and firing, required a large ship for its transportation across the ocean, and two specially-made cars for its conveyance to Chicago. As a mark of his respect for America, Krupp presented the gun and its machinery to the city of Chicago, where it remained permanently, an enduring symbol of the reign of force, and a memento of the Columbian Exposition.

One of the features of the Columbian Exposition most interesting and instructive was the reproduction, or rather transfer, of the villages of semi-civilized and barbarous nations, and the establishment therein of temporary colonies of the original inhabitants. One such was the Esquimau village, just south of the Krupp exhibit; and another was the Alaskan display of boats, huts and totem poles. Near by this was a reconstruction of the prehistoric temples of Cen-

tral America, and of the cliff-dwellings of Southwestern Colorado. Each of these constituted a sort of museum in which were implements of stone and bone, and also numerous utensils of domestic use made of clay; also, mats, sandals and wrappings deftly woven from the yucca palm, to the raising of which the cliff-dwellers devoted most of their labors. Here were also shown a score or more of skulls, and several mummied bodies of this ancient and extinct race.

Preëminent among the structures on the grounds was the Building of Fine Arts. This was situated at the northern end of the lagoon. The edifice arose in classical grandeur from the water's edge. Those who sailed the lagoon might alight from the gondolas on broad



PALACE OF FINE ARTS.

flights of stone steps leading up through the colonnade to the southern portal. Besides the principal structure, there were two annexes, in like architectural style. In this building were displayed the art products — the paintings in particular — of all the civilized nations of the world. Certain it is that no other exhibit of pictorial glories, with the possible exception of that of the Paris Exposition of 1889, ever rivaled the display here made in the art department of the Columbian Fair held in an American city, founded within the memory of men still living!

By the closing years of the century the recollection of the Columbian Exposition had lost much of vividness and interest. A sketch of the event will, therefore, present only an outline and not

a detailed account of the trophies which were exhibited in the display of fine arts. The most splendid was that of France, though there were not wanting many critics who conceded the palm to the artists of Great Britain. Some considered the display made by the artists of the United States equal to any other. The departments of Austria and Belgium were also of the highest merit. The Slavic artists, both Russians and Poles, contributed many pictures worthy of immortality. It is probable that the French section, in which the high-light and realistic paintings were exhibited, was the most splendid of all. Here, though the throngs were not equal to those ever present among the displays of material industries and merely useful

ELECTRICITY BUILDING.

arts, the intellectual and ideal men and women of great races gathered from day to day, feasting their eyes upon the most magnificent products of the human genius.

After the Fine Arts Building, the next in general interest was the great structure known as the Electricity Building. In this were displayed in infinite variety nearly all the phenomena of the electrical current and the various apparatuses employed by science in the applications of this subtile and powerful force. The exhibit was perhaps the most characteristic of all in this, that it represented the scientific spirit of our age. No such display of the wonders of electricity, and of the machines and contrivances in which that mighty and all-pervading force has been made to show its sublime results

was ever before possible — not even at the Paris Exposition of 1889; for the single quadrennium intervening between that event and this had wrought wonders in the progress of the electrical arts. If the visitors to the Department of Fine Arts included the idealists, the dreamers and poets or the world, those who thronged the building in which the electrieal display was made included the thinkers, inventors and forerunners of mankind in all those arts that have force for their minister, and contrivance for their visible expression.

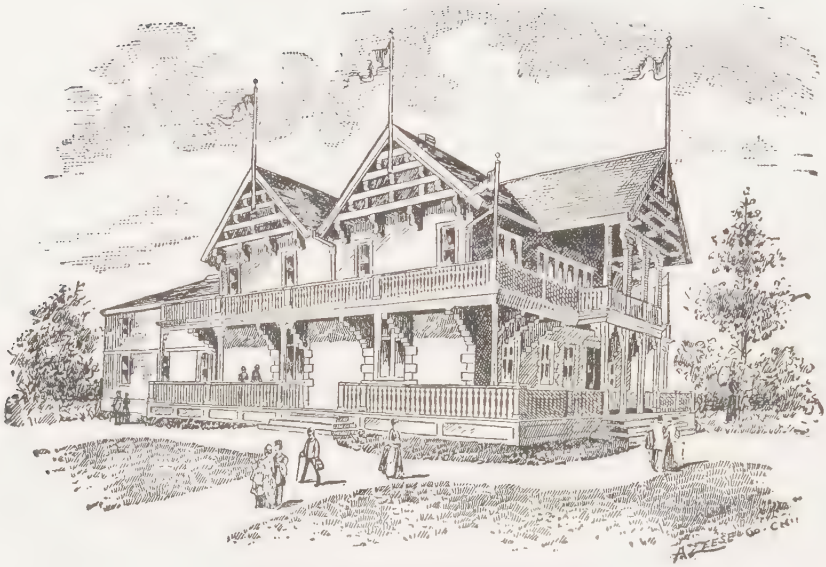
One of the most interesting buildings of the whole park was the so-called Transportation Building. The purpose of this edifice was to furnish a place for the display of the various stages of progress made by man in his means of locomotion and conveyance. The exhibits were arranged in chronological order, showing each stage in the evolution of locomotive products from the rudest contrivance of barbarians and savages to the most splendid modern means of transportation. Here were to be seen all forms of vehicles, from the lumbering cart on land and the rude dugout on running stream to the magnificent train of parlor-cars and sleeping-coaches and the greatest steamships that plow the deep. The entrance or doorway to the Transportation Building, designed by the architect Sullivan, was one of the glories of the World's Columbian Exposition, being declared by many to be the most splendid entrance ever constructed by man.

Not all of the wonderful structures of the Exposition grounds can be enumerated. A description of even the leading edifices would fill a large volume. Not far from the eastern annex of the Building of Fine Arts was the exhibit of fish and fisheries. In the building designed for this purpose were huge tanks in which were arranged in scientific order all the known species of fresh-water fishes, and all the more important varieties of fishes from the sea. These might be seen, as in their native habitats, sporting and feeding and reproducing in the manner of nature. Here were sharks, dogfish, rays, skates, flounders, gunards, lampreys, lobsters, crabs, soles, starfish and fresh-water creatures, from whales to infusoria.

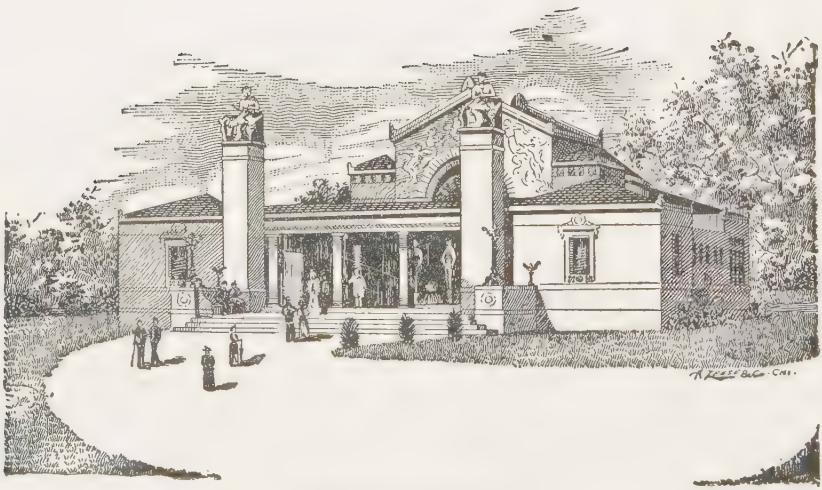
The Horticultural Building contained the display of the most peaceful aspects and products of the natural world. In this were exhibited all the leading varieties of flowers and fruits from every region of the globe. Here the visitor might study the varying products of the earth, from the giant ferns of Australia to the hardy lichens of the Arctic coasts; from the bread-fruit of the tropics to

ILLINOIS BUILDING.

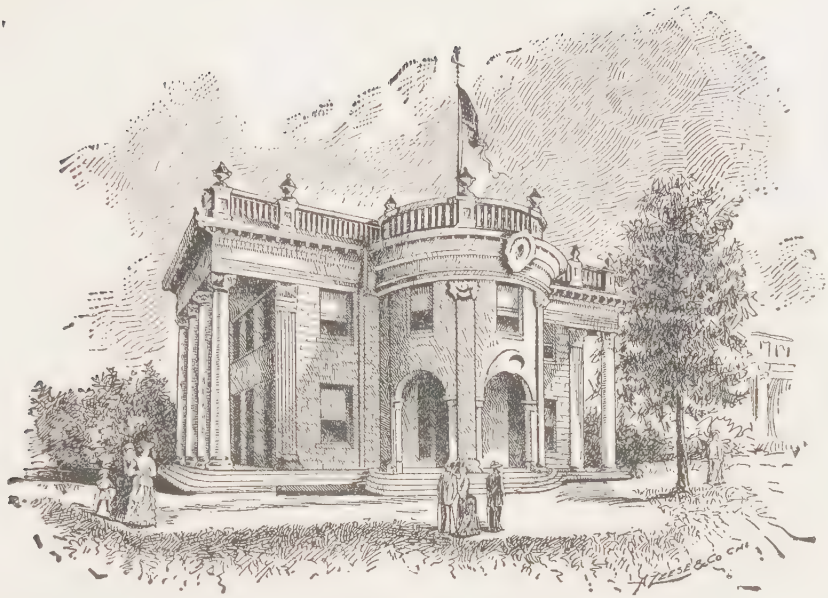
MAINE BUILDING.



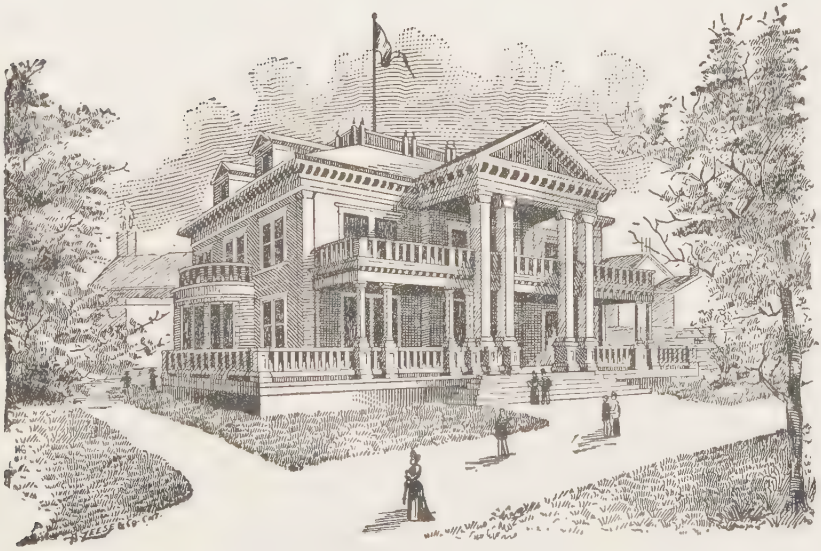
NEW HAMPSHIRE BUILDING.



VERMONT BUILDING.



RHODE ISLAND BUILDING.



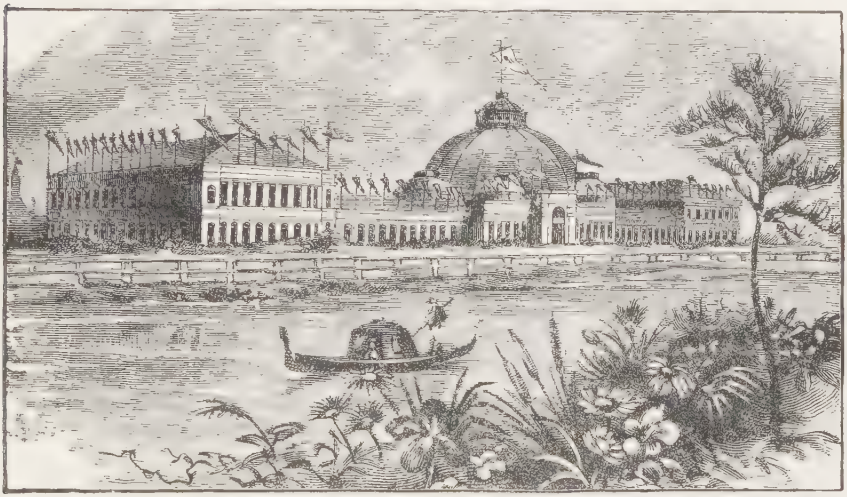
CONNECTICUT BUILDING.

NEW YORK BUILDING.

PENNSYLVANIA BUILDING.

the apples of Siberia; from the roses of Persia to the microscopic blossoms on the snow-cliffs of the Sierras.

No account of the Columbian Exposition could be adequate without some description of the Midway Plaisance. This broad avenue lies between Jackson and Washington parks. At the time of the Exposition it was converted into a sort of ethnological adjunct to the principal displays. The Plaisance was a feature which, like all things else, had grown from small beginnings. As far back as 1851, when the Crystal Palace Exposition at London was held, a trace of the Plaisance was seen. The Chicago Midway was about a mile in length and a quarter of a mile in width. The avenue was lined on both sides with the exhibits and special features that were



HORTICULTURAL BUILDING.

sent to this district. Nearly all of the shows were racial; that is, ethnological. Nearly all the half-civilized nations of the world had sent thither colonies of their people, bringing their architecture, rude arts and customs with them. The historical element was not wanting; for many of the establishments represented former aspects of the social life and industries of mankind. Such was the Irish village, and such was the old German keep, or castle, with its narrow ways and surrounding moat and bridges.

The Javanese village was one of many of its kind, showing, as if in object-lesson, the natives of remote and insular regions in the same habits and surroundings as in their own country. Of this kind was the village of Samoans, and of similar order were the establish-

ments of the Chinese, the Algerians, the Moors and the Copts. Oriental theaters were another feature of the Plaisance, in which the Western races were able to witness, as in the East, the dramatical plays and sensuous dances of the North African and East Asian peoples. The advantage of the things to be seen in the Plaisance, and of a knowledge of them to the historical and ethnical inquirer, was very great; but the vicious classes made these object-lessons of the Orient to be no more than a gratification of the baser feelings and mere sensual curiosity.

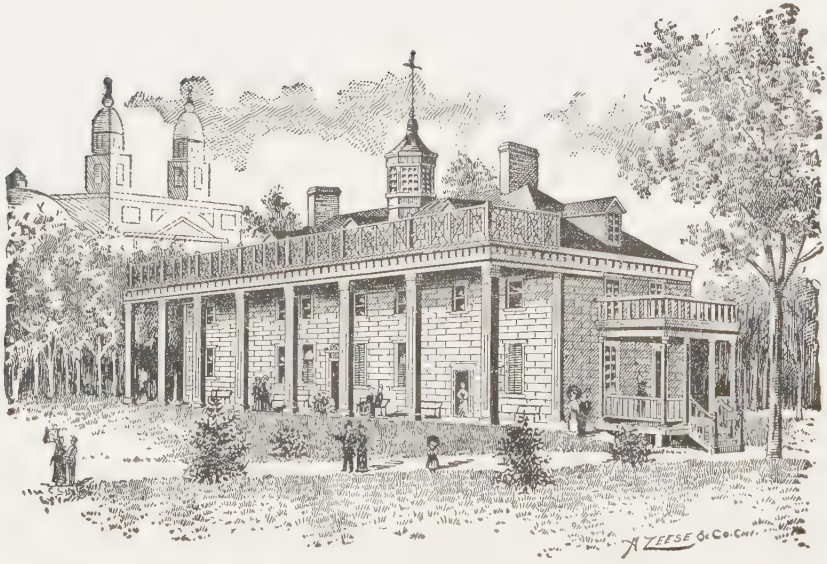
Another special feature of the great Exposition was the gigantic wheel erected from designs and plans formed by a young engineer of Illinois, Mr. G. W. G. Ferris. This ambitious piece of mechanism was the greatest revolving spectacle ever constructed by man. The builder was a graduate of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. He had already distinguished himself as a builder of cantilever bridges. The Ferris wheel was regarded as a structural miracle. It was made for the most part of steel. The materials were prepared at Detroit. The central shaft was forty-five feet in length, and thirty-two inches in diameter. This was raised to the gudgeons in which it revolved at a height of a hundred and forty feet. The circumference of the wheel was occupied with thirty-six passenger cars, hung in the outer rim, each car having a capacity of fifty passengers. The cars, in going over, rose to the height of two hundred and sixty-eight feet from the earth. The passengers in the ascent rose skyward until they might have looked down a distance of fifty feet on the top of Bunker Hill monument, if that tremendous obelisk had stood near by! The building skill of Ferris in the construction of this monstrous contrivance was not only vindicated, but the enterprise itself proved to be popular and highly profitable to the management.

The World's Columbian Exposition drew to Chicago great numbers of organizations interested in special lines of inquiry. Nearly all the philosophies and isms of the world were represented on the occasion. Many notable congresses were held. One of these, the Congress of Religions, attracted particular attention. The sessions of this body were held in the latter part of September. All of the leading religions of the world were represented. Sentiment and philosophy combined to make the occasion one of peculiar interest. The proscriptive spirit was for the nonce laid aside. Mohammedans, Buddhists, Confucians and Christians sat down together in amity, and discussed for many days the tenets of their respective faiths, and the points of excellence which each claimed for his own.

NEW JERSEY BUILDING.

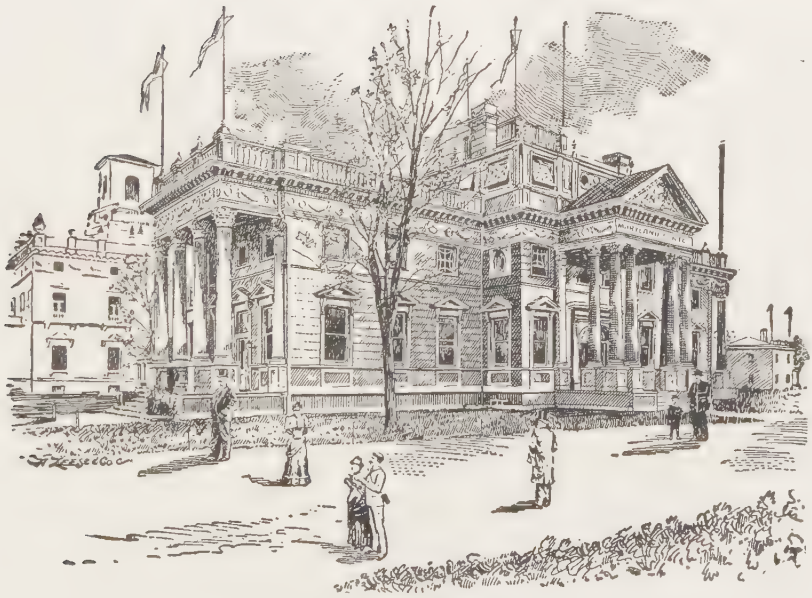
DELAWARE BUILDING.

MASSACHUSETTS BUILDING.

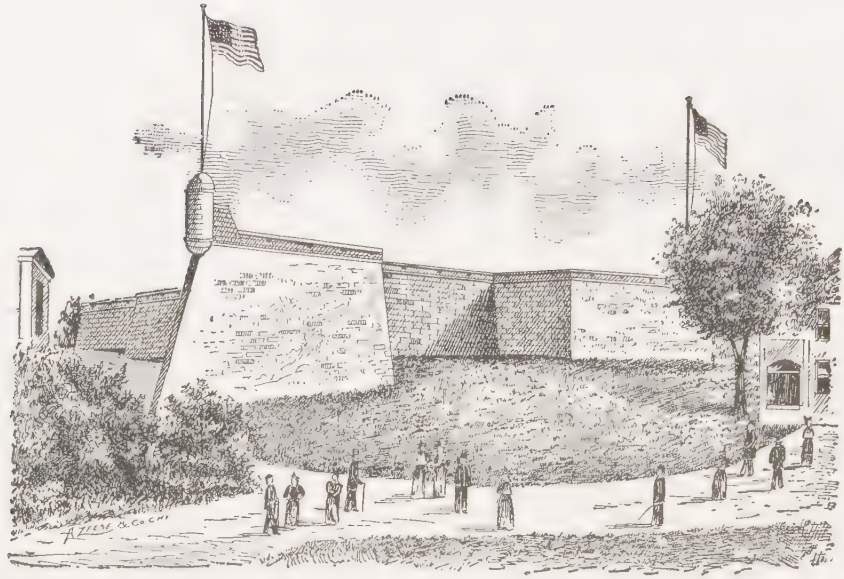


VIRGINIA BUILDING.

WEST VIRGINIA BUILDING.

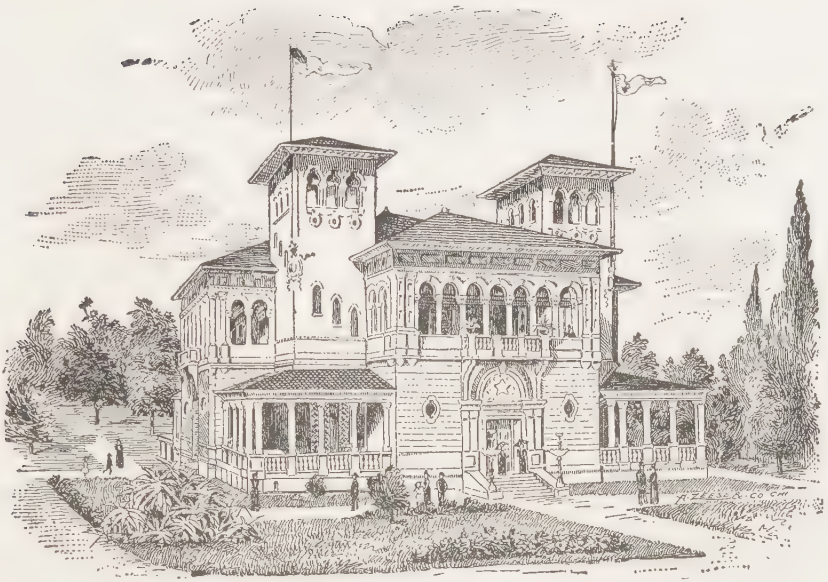


MARYLAND BUILDING.

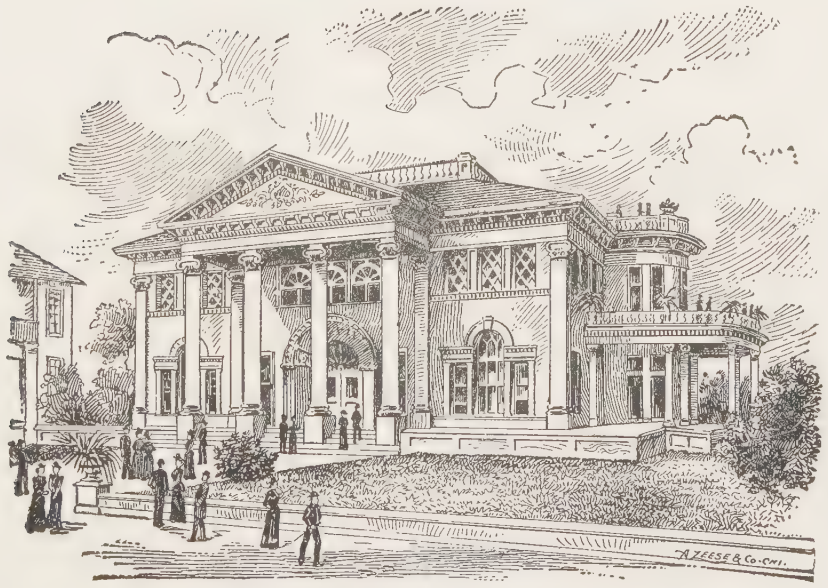


FLORIDA BUILDING.

LOUISIANA BUILDING.



TEXAS BUILDING.

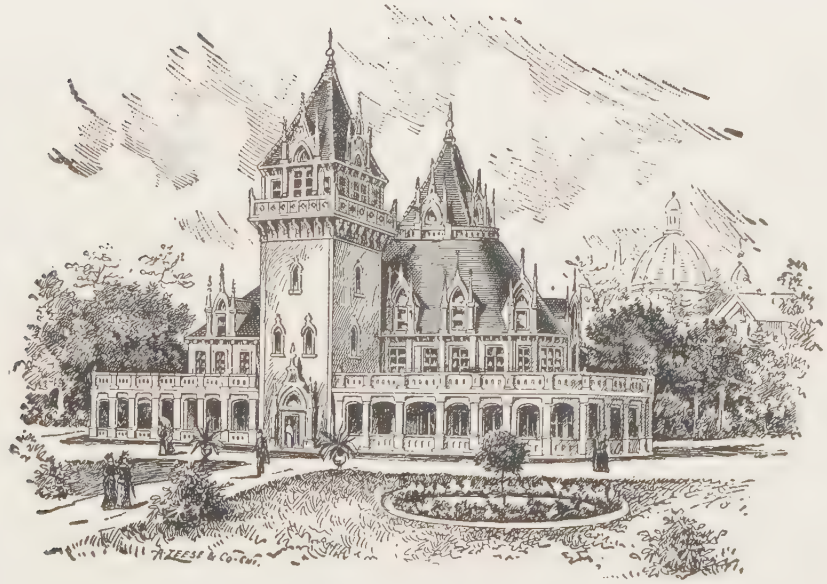


KENTUCKY BUILDING.

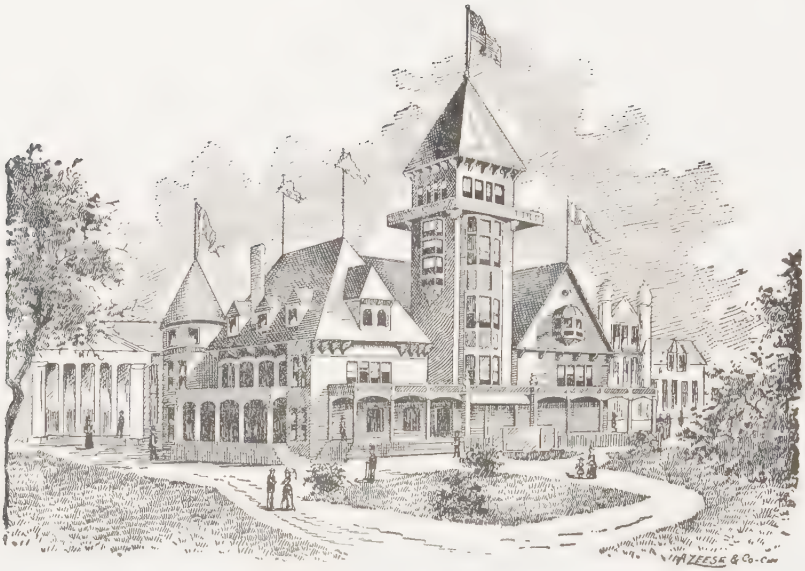
MISSOURI BUILDING.

JOINT TERRITORIAL BUILDING.

OHIO BUILDING.



INDIANA BUILDING.



MICHIGAN BUILDING.

WISCONSIN BUILDING.

The original time limit of the Exposition extended from the first of May to the end of October. It was intended to make the closing day one of the most glorious of all the days of the memorable summer. An elaborate program was prepared, and great preparations were made for the closing exercises, when suddenly, on the twenty-eighth of the month, the city was plunged into consternation and grief by the assassination in his own house of Mayor Carter H. Harrison, to whose great abilities, persistency, and unwearied exertion not a little of the success of the World's Fair should be attributed. It had been his duty for fully six months to act as the representative of the city in its relations with distinguished foreign visitors, committees, delegations and the like, and in all of these duties he had borne himself with distinguished ability and dignity. A lunatic, named Pendergast, imagined that the mayor should have appointed him to office, and under this hallucination gained entrance to the mayor's home, and shot him dead. The ceremonies that had been planned for the close of the Exposition were accordingly abandoned, and on the thirtieth of the month the October sun went down on the White City, over which funereal silence settled with the night.

What should be done with the great structures which had been called into existence by the exigencies of the World's Columbian Exposition? The aggregate cost of these had been about nineteen million dollars. It was not alleged that extravagance or fraud had marred the work of the commission; indeed the buildings had all been economically constructed. Nearly every edifice, however, was erected for a temporary purpose and without respect to permanence. It would appear that in this particular the management was at fault. Perhaps it was not foreseen that the tremendous creations of the year could not be removed and destroyed without producing a sentiment of regret, if not of actual pain, to the whole American people. It had been wiser that, at least, a considerable portion of the buildings should be permanent. The managers of Jackson Park, however, had decreed otherwise. The foolish edict was that the park should be restored, as nearly as possible, to its former condition — a thing virtually impossible.

In order to carry out the policy which had been adopted, it became necessary to demolish the buildings of the Exposition grounds. This was a work well-nigh as serious as the work of construction. Such demolition must appear to the eye as if the Goths and Vandals of ten ages had been loosed to do their will on the sublimest culture of the nineteenth century. While the work of tearing down and

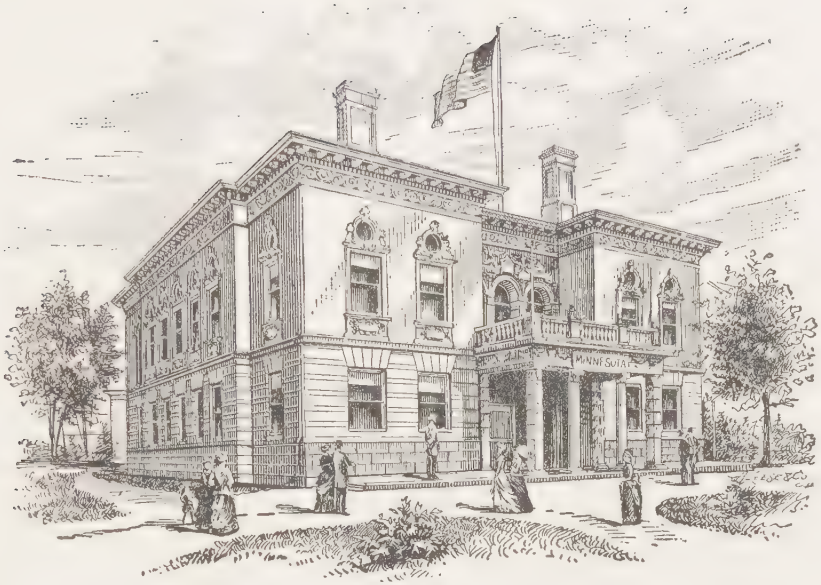
removing the great buildings was in progress, a fire broke out, which became first a conflagration, and afterward a tornado of flaming horror, the light of which might have been visible a hundred miles. The elements conspired at the last to reduce to gas and ashes the residue of that sublime aggregation of structure, the equal of which had not hitherto been seen by the sons of men.

The aggregate expenditures of the World's Columbian Exposition were very great. To the $19,000,000 expended in the construction of buildings an additional outlay of $10,000,000 had been necessary to carry out the enterprise. The total cost of the Exposition was reported by the Commissioners at $30,558,849. The total receipts were $32,796,103. The excess of receipts over expenditures may well be noted as the crowning marvel of the enterprise.

Our wonder in this particular is heightened when we reflect that the premonitory swirl of the great financial panic of 1893–94 fell flatly on the country during the months of the Exposition. Moreover, the subdued fear of a cholera epidemic was among the people — a circumstance not to be overlooked when we reflect upon the exposure to which the city of Chicago was necessarily subjected in the summer of 1893. Notwithstanding all this, the Columbian Exposition went forward to a triumphant conclusion. Neither the great financial panic, nor the fear of cholera was sufficient to prevent the glorious consummation of the work, and the congratulation of all the civilized peoples of the globe on the splendid results of the enterprise.

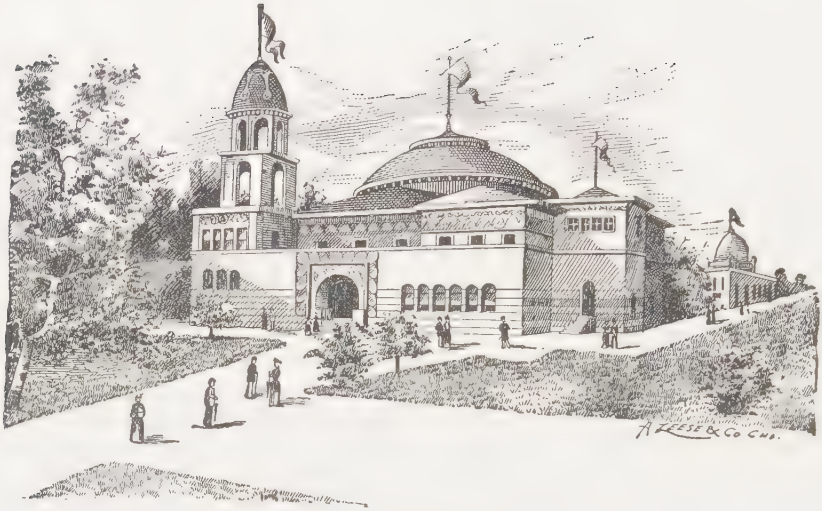
In the meantime, before the close of the Exposition, a fertile and attractive part of the Indian Territory, called the Cherokee Strip, was opened for settlement to the whites. The movement was a part of that never-ending aggression by which the broad tribal domains of the Indians have been reduced to a handbreadth. A law of Congress was passed, by which six million acres of desirable lands, lying at least nominally within the Indian dominion, were offered for sale. The result showed that the passion for land-ownership and for settlement and colonization and the building-up of States is not yet extinct among the American people. The date fixed for the sale of the lands was the 16th of September, 1896. There was a great rush for the new territory; about one hundred thousand settlers suddenly threw themselves into it with a zeal of competition for homes that amounted almost to battle.

Meanwhile, on the very day of the close of the Columbian Exposi-



MINNESOTA BUILDING.

IOWA BUILDING.



KANSAS BUILDING.

NEBRASKA BUILDING.

MONTANA BUILDING.

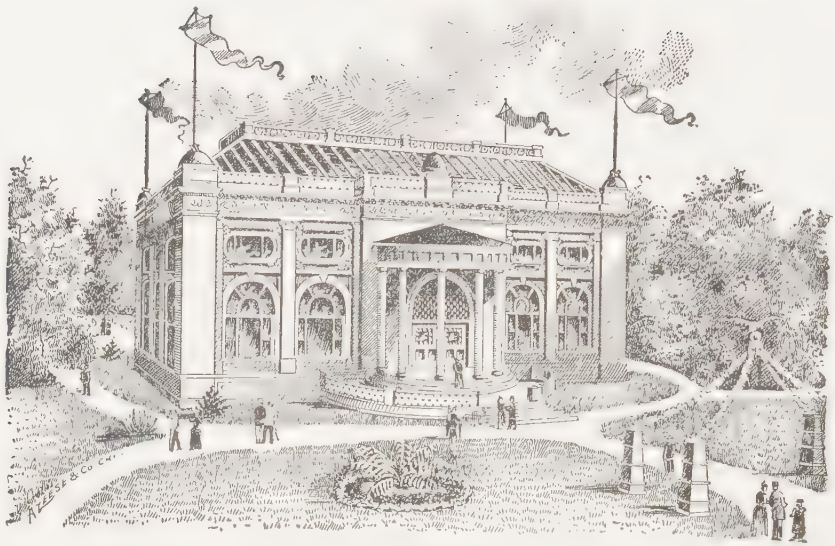
COLORADO BUILDING.

IDAHO BUILDING.

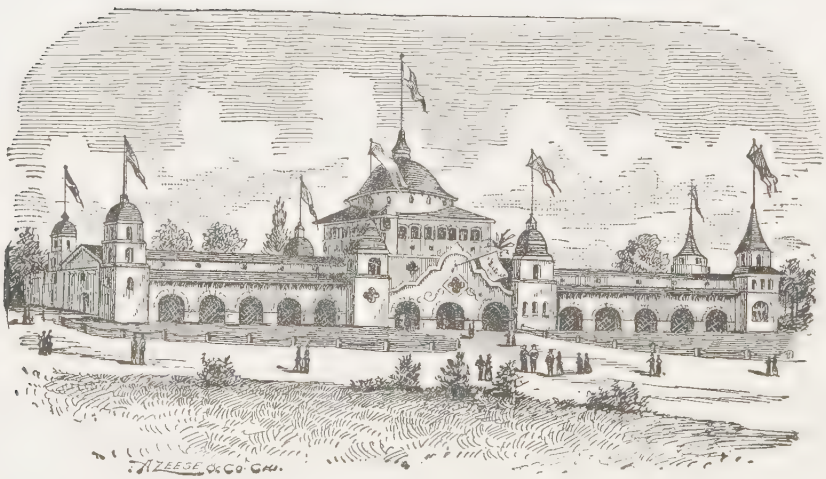
WASHINGTON BUILDING.

NORTH DAKOTA BUILDING.

SOUTH DAKOTA BUILDING.



UTAH BUILDING.



CALIFORNIA BUILDING.

tion, an act was passed by Congress repealing the purchasing clause of the so-called Sherman Law. This clause, which had been in operation since July of 1890, required that the Government should purchase four million five hundred thousand ounces of silver each month, and should issue therefor silver certificates to be used as money. The repeal now effected was unconditional. It was the last of a series of acts, which, beginning with the demonetization of silver, in 1873, and extending, with various revivals of the controversy, over a period of twenty years, finally resulted in the establishment of the single gold standard of values in the United States instead of the standard according to the silver unit which was fixed at the foundation of the Government by the statute of 1792.

Other legislation of this period was of great moment. One act in particular contributed not a little to the overwhelming disaster of the times. For, in the meanwhile, the great financial and commercial panic had come upon the country, entailing such ruin of business and such darkening of prospects as had never been hitherto known in the industrial and commercial history of our country. The particular legislation now enacted related to the tariff. Whether the tariff reform advocated by Cleveland and the Democratic party was or was not a thing wise to be undertaken, certain it is that values were, for the time, ruinously affected by the acts of the current Congress. The tariff legislation took form in a bill prepared by Representative William L. Wilson, of West Virginia, which, though not a measure of free trade and not a measure founded on the principle of a tariff for revenue only, nevertheless included as much of these two principles as the expediency of the hour would bear.

The Wilson Bill was passed by the House of Representatives, and was transmitted to the Senate. In that body the monoplies had so great influence that a measure proposed by Senator Gorman, including a tariff on coal and iron, and a differential duty on refined sugar, was included in the Wilson Bill, and forced upon the reluctant House. Such was the odium created by this measure, which was adopted on the 13th of August, that the elections following hard after went overwhelmingly against the Democrats.

During the period when this legislation was in process of enactment, the industrial and commercial depression, with the consequent unrest and suffering of the people, brought on the most alarming results. The manufacturing industries were prostrated, and the prices of products fell away. Strikes and lockouts became the order of the times. Business failures resounded through the land like the falling

of a forest. Commerce dwindled away. Presently, in the latter part of April, 1894, a hundred and thirty thousand miners stopped work, and were joined immediately afterward by fully twenty-five thousand others. Nearly all the coke-plants in Western Pennsylvania were closed. Meanwhile, the discontented and half-starved people began to show their desires and passions in a way never hitherto displayed in the United States.

The result of these conditions was that the laboring masses thrown out of employment began to combine — perhaps without knowing why — into a great organization known as the Army of the Commonweal. Indeed, there were several such combinations. One army, under the leadership of J. S. Coxey, of Massillon, Ohio, marched on Washington City to demand employment from the National Government. Another band came on from the far West, under the leadership of their so-called "General" Kelley. Railway cars were appropriated here and there for transportation. Collisions occurred between divisions of the army and various bodies of troops.

On the 30th of May these men of the Commonweal made a demonstration on the steps of the Capitol at Washington. The authorities of the District, on the alert for some excuse, found the leaders of the army on the grass of the Capitol grounds in a place forbidden. Coxey and Carl Browne were arrested for trespassing, and were convicted and imprisoned. During the whole summer of 1894, these strange movements of the discontented people continued at various places.

The prolonged depression of all industrial interests led, at length, to serious rioting. The most alarming outbreaks were in the coal regions near Uniontown, Pennsylvania. The period when these disturbances were at their height was in the spring of 1894. On the 4th of April six persons were killed in a riot at Uniontown. Serious outbreaks among the miners occurred in Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Illinois and Kansas. In many places the State militia was called out, and petty fights occurred. At Cripple Creek, in Colorado, a great riot took place, and prominent citizens were seized and held for some time as hostages.

The elections in the fall of 1894 again illustrated the violent vicissitudes to which American political life is subject. Only two years previously the Democratic party had achieved an overwhelming victory. Now it was hard to say whether the triumph of that party in 1892 or its disaster at the middle of the Cleveland administration were greater. As a matter of fact, the election of Cleveland in 1892

was not a great indorsement of the Democratic party. Neither was the overthrow of that party, two years afterwards, a popular indorsement of the Republican party. Both of these great elections were in the nature of rebukes administered by a dissatisfied and ultimately independent people, first to one party and then to another.

The beginning of the second administration of Cleveland, or rather the close of the administration of his predecessor, may be noted as the date from which the imperialistic tendency in the Government of the United States began to display itself. The first circumstance which led to this baleful sentiment was the agitation relative to the annexation of Hawaii. During the administration of Harrison, a so-called American party had appeared among the Hawaiians, favoring the abolition of the native monarchy and scheming to accomplish that result. Ostensibly the purpose was to institute a republic in the islands, and the ultimate design was the undisguised project of annexing the islands to the United States.

This policy had the support of the administration of Harrison. A Hawaiian insurrection broke out, and Queen Liliuokalani was dethroned. A treaty of annexation was prepared, and the movement for joining the islands to the United States was under full way when Cleveland came again into the Presidency. His policy differed from that of his predecessor. He sent his agent, Blount, to Hawaii, to report on the political conditions there present. The request was made that the proposed treaty of annexation be returned to the State Department at Washington. On the 14th of April, 1893, came the report of Blount, which was so adverse to the policy hitherto pursued by our Government that the President ordered a protectorate of the United States, which had been established over Hawaii, to be withdrawn. On the 27th of May, the American flag, which had been run up over the public buildings at Honolulu, and had briefly floated there, was pulled down, and the affairs of the island were remanded to native authority. For a time it appeared that the queen would be restored; but the Republican party had now become so strong that the insular monarchy could not be set up again. A republic was presently established by the Hawaiians, led by the Americans resident in the island, and Sandford Dole, an American, was elected President.

Meanwhile, a very serious complication arose between the United States and Great Britain. The bone of contention was the seal fisheries in Behring Sea. In that remote water a dangerous controversy had broken out between the vessels of the United States

and those of Great Britain. Acts of violence occurred. The claim of the United States to the exclusive jurisdiction and right of American sealers to ply their vocation from the seal islands seaward to the deep waters of Behring Sea was disputed by the British sailors. Our Government was disposed to hold that the doctrine of *mare clausum*, or the "shut-up-sea," held in this case, while Great Britain — turning from her ancient policy of the shut sea to the doctrine of *mare liberum*, or "free sea" — now espoused the principle which the United States had previously maintained.

The ravages of the ships of both nations in the deep waters had already greatly reduced the seal product in Behring Sea, and threatened the extinction of the valuable industry. On the 29th of February, 1892, a treaty had been signed at Washington between the two powers, agreeing to refer the controversy to an International Board of Arbitration. The court thus provided convened on the 23d of March, at Paris, and it was agreed that a temporary understanding called the *modus vivendi*, regulating the conduct of the nations, should be extended to the 31st of October, 1893. The final result was a decision against the United States on the main question at issue, namely, that our Government could *not* extend its authority to the open waters of the Behring Sea. An award of damages to the extent of $425,000 was also made against the United States.

The latter part of the year 1894 was notable for the alarming difficulties which continued to disturb the relations of capital and labor. The proprietors of the great manufacturing establishments aligned themselves in hostile attitude. Strikes and lockouts prevailed in those cities where the large manufactories were situated. On the 17th of July, ten thousand workmen in the great textile factories of New Bedford, Mass., struck against a reduction of wages, and soon afterward no fewer than twenty-three thousand operatives at Fall River were locked out by the managers. Then came the strike of the journeymen tailors of New York City, which was long continued, and disastrous alike to employers and employees. In the latter part of January, 1895, a dreadful strike occurred of the employees of the electrical street-car companies of Brooklyn. In this movement about twenty-five thousand men were involved. Notwithstanding the well-known fact that the principle for which the workmen contended was just, the public necessity of having the cars operated, and the combined powers of organization and wealth calling upon the authorities, municipal and military, of the city to

put down the strikers and rioters, prevailed, and the strike was suppressed — not, however, until several serious conflicts, involving the loss of life and great distress to the people, had occurred.

Still more alarming than these disturbances was an event occurring in the latter part of June, 1894. The coal strike had practically ended on the eighteenth of that month. The losses entailed upon the coal-mine owners and the operatives were estimated at ten millions of dollars. No sooner had this difficulty been adjusted than the American Railway Union, a powerful organization of operatives, declared a boycott against the Pullman Palace Car Company, having its offices and manufacturing establishments at the town of Pullman, near Chicago. The boycott was proclaimed as an act of sympathy with the striking employees of the Pullman Company. A demand for arbitration was made, but was refused by the Pullmans, and the strike ensued as a consequence.

Notwithstanding the enormous profits of the Pullman corporation, regularly declared on a capital which had been watered until it was *more than twelve times as great as at first*, the wages of the employees had been time and again reduced, and other oppressive measures had been taken, until the operatives were brought to the verge of desperation.

When the workmen struck against further oppression, the Railway Union declared the boycott against the cars, and immediately a tremendous array of power was exhibited on both sides of the controversy. A great blockade of railway freight and of passenger trains on the roads centering in Chicago was established. The mails in some cases were delayed. The strike spread as far as San Francisco, and in two days traffic was practically suspended. The organic forces of society now rallied. On the 2d of July, the United States Courts in Chicago issued sweeping injunctions against the strikers. Regular troops under command of General Miles were sent to the scene to surpress rioting. On the 6th of July a great riot occurred; many were killed, and two hundred and twenty-five cars were burned.

At this juncture Eugene V. Debs, President of the American Railway Union, and his fellow-officers were arrested. A proclamation was issued on the 8th of July by the President of the United States, ordering a division of the regular army to suppress the riots in California. Gradually the strikers were put down by force, and by the middle of the month the movement was at an end.

Soon afterward a commission, headed by Hon. Carroll D.

Wright, was appointed by the President of the United States to investigate the origin, character and results of the strike. By this commission the true nature of the event was discovered and established. The report showed that the whole blame for the disaster rested upon the Pullman Company, and that the strikers, except in a very few desultory instances, had not been guilty of either breaking the law or doing other violence to society. In the course of a few months, Debs and his fellow-officers of the American Railway Union were brought to trial for an alleged contempt of court, in not answering a summons thereof; for this they were convicted and sent to prison.

The death list of eminent men during the administration of Harrison and the second administration of Cleveland was long and portentous. A great number of prominent Americans passed away in this interval. On the 16th of November, 1893, Ex-President James McCosh, of Princeton College, died, at the age of eighty-three. On the 13th of the following April, David Dudley Field, of New York, one of the most distinguished jurists of the United States, expired at the advanced age of eighty-nine. On the following day, Senator Zebulon B. Vance, of North Carolina, passed away, aged sixty-four; and at nearly the same hour, General Henry W. Slocum, who had reached his sixty-seventh year, died in Brooklyn. On the 7th of June, Dr. William Dwight Whitney, the greatest philologist of our country, passed away at the age of sixty-seven.

On the 20th of February, 1895, the distinguished Frederick Douglass died at his home in Washington. He had long been recognized as the leading African of the world. Since the days of Toussaint l'Ouverture, no man of black visage in any part of the world had been the peer of Frederick Douglass. At the time of his death he had entered his seventy-ninth year. It would appear that although white blood mingled with the Nigritian in his veins, he was nevertheless a true African. His attainments were remarkable. His patriotism was as conspicuous as his humanity. Born a slave, he had lived to become one of the greatest leaders of his epoch. Having on his shoulders the cruel marks of the driver's lash, he had in his brain, none the less, the visions of the dawn, and in his soul all the music of the song-birds of freedom.

The American system of organizing territories, peopling and developing them, and then admitting them into the Union on a perfect equality with the older States was fully and successfully

illustrated during the period under consideration. In the early summer of 1894 an act was passed to enable Utah to become a State, and this act was signed by President Cleveland on the 17th of July. A constitution was prepared and voted on by the people. This being found to accord with the Constitution of the United States, and to comply with the provisions of the Edmunds Law, that State, after remaining for forty years in the Territorial condition, was formally admitted into the Union on the 6th of January, 1895.

We may not pass from the history of this period — intended as it is to mark the most important events in the last quarter of the century and to illustrate the progress of civilization in the great Northwest — without noting one circumstance of disastrous character. This was the destruction of great forests by fires. Perhaps some changes of climate in the forest region, and the encroachments of the civilized life upon the natural state of the world, tended to superinduce conflagrations of the kind referred to. On several occasions, in the States of Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota, these fires have broken out, spreading from neighborhood to neighborhood, and from county to county, devastating the country for many square miles, and leaving nothing behind but earth and ashes.

On the 10th of September, 1894, one of these fires broke out in Northern Michigan, and raged for about a week. For two or three days the conflagration was appalling. The forests were swept down like fields of stubble. Similar fires occurred in Wisconsin and in parts of Minnesota. In the last-named State the towns of Hinckley and Mission Creek were utterly destroyed. So sudden and dreadful was the visitation that in these two towns alone three hundred and fifty persons perished in the flames. In the various neighborhoods that were ruined by these conflagrations, it was estimated that from 1,200 to 1,500 lives were lost. The destruction of property was quite incalculable.

In his message to the Fifty-third Congress, which had entered upon its work on the 3d of December, 1895, President Cleveland recommended the increase of the American army to its full legal strength of 25,000 men. He also indorsed the project for building additional battle-ships and torpedo-boats, thus following the line of policy laid down nearly twenty years previously by Samuel J. Tilden. It was one of the peculiarities of public opinion, at this time, that it seemed to fall back upon the notion of making strong the Republic by increasing its military power — this in the face of the well-known fact that such preparations are a sign of decadence rather than of strength.

In the further development of his policy, the President urged such modifications in the tariff schedule as would transfer coal and iron from the protected to the free list. He also favored the abolition of the so-called differential duties on refined sugar. He insisted on the increase of the gold reserve in the treasury by the issuance of gold-bearing bonds. The enormous expenditures which had been made by the Fifty-second Congress, and also by the Fifty-third, had threatened with depletion the gold reserve, which was kept without warrant of law in the Treasury of the United States.

In accordance with this policy, the Secretary of the Treasury, on the 20th of February, 1895, issued $62,500,000 of thirty-year bonds at four per cent. These were taken by a syndicate of New York bankers, who secured the bonds at the rate of about four and one-half per cent above par, and succeeded in selling them at about twelve and one-quarter per cent above par. The loss to the Government from this nefarious transaction was very great, but it was only the beginning of the process by which the bonded debt of the United States was, in the period which we are here considering, increased by $262,000,000 — this in a time of profound peace, and at a time when the people of the nation were deeply concerned to have the national debt extinguished, rather than augmented and perpetuated.

The Fifty-third Congress, which came to an end on the 4th of March, was notable for several important policies which it had promoted, and which it had enacted into law. The principal measures which had been carried into effect by the body were first, the repeal of the purchase clause of the Sherman Silver Law; secondly, the amendment of the McKinley Tariff Bill by the substitution therefor of the Wilson-Gorman Bill, which included a tax of two per cent. on the excess of incomes above $4,000 annually; thirdly, the restoration of the duties on sugar, with a bounty of five millions to the sugar-growers. Negatively, this Congress refused to pay the sum awarded by the arbitration of Paris in favor of the British North American sealers — though the Secretary of State had agreed to the award, and though the agreement had received the indorsement of the administration.

Now it was, namely, in the spring of 1895, that those difficulties long pending in the island of Cuba with the provincial government of Spain came to a crisis. With the disturbances in that island the American people were constantly involved. The proximity of Cuba to our shores made such entanglement inevitable, and this natural influence was aggravated by many special causes which were at

work, both in Cuba and in the United States. On the 8th of March the American merchant steamer *Allianca* was fired on off the east coast of Cuba by the Spanish cruiser *Conde de Venadido*. An insurrection gathered head in the island, and the patriots, who were the insurgents, found a great leader in General Antonio Maceo.

Spain, for her part, sent additional troops to Cuba, and the local government was assigned to the Provincial Governor-General, Weyler, between whose administration and the Cubans the utmost animosity began to prevail.

The Cuban rebellion assumed revolutionary proportions. A provincial war broke out between the patriots and their oppressors. The leaders of the revolutionary party were Jose Marti and General Maceo, together with other popular agitators and insurgents. On the 12th of June, 1895, President Cleveland issued a proclamation forbidding citizens of the United States to aid the Cuban patriots, but the proclamation was little regarded. The rebellion continued and gathered head until it portended the overthrow of the Spanish authority.

The remainder of 1895 and the early part of 1896 were occupied with the vicissitudes of the contest. Neither were the Spaniards able to put down the insurgents, nor were the insurgents able to achieve independence. The latter held their ground in certain districts which were most defensible. But the Spanish Government was able to maintain itself in Havana, in all the leading cities, and in the open parts of the country. Late in 1896 General Maceo was killed in an ambush, and the Cuban cause seemed about to perish with him; but the sympathy of the United States, the secret aid given to the Cubans, and their own unconquerable spirit in contending with their oppressors, led to a continuance of the struggle for independence.

Meanwhile the political affairs of Central America tended to a complete transformation of the isolated States of that region into the Central Republic. A difficulty arose between the Nicaraguans and Great Britain. The pro-consul of the latter power, representing the British Government at Bluefields, was illegally expelled from his place, and for this Great Britain demanded reparation, including an indemnity of $77,500. This demand being refused by the Nicaraguans, a body of English marines seized the custom-house at Corinto, and held it with a threat of further retaliation.

At this juncture the Government of San Salvador offered to mediate, and this offer being re-enforced with a guarantee of the

indemnity, Great Britain relinquished the custom-house, and things went well again.

The history of the legislation of this period must include a further reference to the income-tax law, which was passed by the Fifty-third Congress. According to this measure a tax of two per cent. was laid on incomes amounting to more than $4,000 annually; that is, the *excess* of incomes over $4,000 was to be taxed at the rate of two per cent. This law, if it had become effective, would have greatly increased the revenues of the Government, by compelling the rich to pay a reasonable proportion of the taxes of the people. But wealth does not readily assent to be taxed. A strong combination was made against the law, and a suit to test its validity was instituted and carried to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Before the judges of that tribunal the cause was argued with the greatest ability and persistency. At length a decision was rendered, upholding a *part* of the law and condemning the remainder; some clauses thereof were said to be constitutional and the others unconstitutional; but before this decision was fully and fairly promulgated, the court *reversed its own decision* and declared the whole income tax law to be unconstitutional! This was accomplished by the vote of a single justice, who changed from the affirmative to the negative side of the question, thus making a vote of five to four against the law — being a majority of one. The result was disappointing to the great mass of the people of the United States; and the disappointment found expression, as we shall see, in the platform of one of the leading parties in 1896.

The chronology of this period in our history may well include a notice of the consolidation of the great libraries of New York City. These were the Astor, the Lenox and the Tilden collections of books and manuscripts. For a long time the first two of these great libraries had been conducted as separate institutions. Samuel J. Tilden, near the end of his life, provided in his will for the institution of a new library in the city to bear his name; but the will of the great lawyer was assailed by some of the collateral heirs, and was set aside as invalid. The heirs, however, agreed that a considerable portion of the money bequeathed for that purpose should be given to the project which Mr. Tilden desired to promote.

This circumstance led to the combination of the three libraries under one management. A great library building had been erected on Fifth Avenue, looking into Central Park. This building was first intended for the Lenox Library; but the new scheme contemplated

the establishment therein of the Tilden Library as well, and of the removal thereto of the Astor Library from its old station in Lafayette Place. Thus the City of New York secured a Public Library of fully 300,000 volumes, with property estimated at about $8,000,000. The final arrangement for this was effected on the 2d of March, 1895.

The prodigious growth of New York City, and its overwhelming influence in the affairs of the nation, suggests a notice of another incident in the local history of the metropolis. This was the opening of the Harlem Ship Canal, by which the Hudson River and the East River and Long Island Sound were connected with a channel sufficiently wide and deep for the passing of ships. The visitor to the scene of this great internal improvement can but be struck with the immense possibilities that are provided by nature and man for the future of Manhattan Island. So far as human foresight can discern, this island, bearing the City of New York, must be destined to hold a conspicuous place in the civilization of many centuries to come. Provision has now been made for the passage of ships of large burden entirely around Manhattan by way of the Hudson (or North) River, through the canal and the Hudson River, into East River, and thence into the harbor again. Fancy and patriotism can easily foresee a time when all this vast extent of much more than forty miles of shore will be occupied throughout with sea-washed and stone-paved docks and slips immutable as the ages — more elegant and commodious even than those of the Mersey — into which the ships of all nations shall go, and there be anchored in safety to the shore of what was once a forbidding and desolate island, which was sold by the Indians to the whites for twenty dollars! Such is the work of man on his way from barbarism to civilization and power.

The general effect of the panic of 1893, of the unparalled business disasters which followed in the wake of that event, and the natural dispositions of men to hold the party in power responsible for whatever is, combined to bring on a strong reaction against the Cleveland administration. This was shown in the elections of 1895, which resulted for the most part, in Republican success. All the disasters of the last two years were charged to the Cleveland policies, and the unpopularity of the administration increased as time went by. The Republicans were greatly encouraged in 1895. They were able to claim victories in New York, New Jersey, Iowa, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and even in Maryland and Kentucky. It was at this juncture that the first general election was held in the

State of Utah, and this also resulted in a Republican victory; though Republicanism in that region meant the free coinage of silver, together with the re-institution of protective duties — this against the sentiment of the Republicans in the commercial centers of the East.

President Cleveland was not the man to recede from any position which he had once taken in national affairs. His message at the opening of Congress, in December of 1895, was well calculated to intensify the strain and hardship of the country. He recommended that the treasury notes issued by the Government years ago, and long used as currency, be retired by means of an issue of bonds bearing interest at a low rate. He would also have the tax on the National Banks reduced to a nominal rate — this in the hope of stimulating these institutions to a greater liberality toward their customers and the people at large.

Soon after the beginning of the session, the President sent another message to Congress, calling attention to the fact that the Government of Great Britain had refused to submit to arbitration her dispute with Venzuela relative to the so-called Schomburgk line, which was claimed by Great Britain as the boundary of her possessions in that country. This claim, if admitted, would include many of the Venzuelan gold-fields with the British possessions. It was the policy of Great Britian at this time—or at least of her subjects — to get possession of nearly all the gold mines of the world, with a view to putting herself in a position where she might sell her gold to all those nations using that metal as a basis of their currency.

In following this policy of fastening the gold corner with immovable anchors, she thought to secure from Venzuela the largest possible extent of territory. The United States interfered and proposed arbitration. This was refused, and the President referred the matter to Congress. There seemed to impend an international crisis; but the Government of Great Britain, on the urgent representations of the United States, finally conceded to the propriety and right of arbitration as the means of settling the dispute.

A commission was accordingly constituted, and the President appointed Justice David J. Brewer, of the Supreme Court; Robert H. Alvey, Chief-Justice of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia; Andrew D. White, Ex-President of Cornell University; Hon. Frederick R. Coudert; and President Daniel C. Gilman, of Johns Hopkins University, to act as a Commission on the part of the United States in determining the Venzuelan boundary; that is, in determining from the historical antecedents what the boundary

justly is. In order to promote this work, the two Houses of Congress appropriated $100,000 for the expenses of the Commission while prosecuting the investigation.

By the beginning of 1896 the distress of the country had become so acute that the President, following the financial policy which he had adopted, ordered an additional sale of one hundred millions of thirty-year Government bonds, which was said to be necessary in order to protect the gold reserve in the Treasury. There had been accumulated, at this time, a vast amount of idle, uninvested funds in the banks in the money centers, and these funds sought investment. Enterprises had failed in all parts of the country, and money no longer offered itself to legitimate manufacturing or commercial investments. The industries of the country were at a stand-still, and the necessity existed — according to the policy of the great financiers and bankers — to get their accumulated funds into *some* form of investment. The National Bond was the form selected, and the Treasury of the United States, acting in conjunction with the powerful money interest of the metropolis, and under the ostensible motive of replenishing the gold reserve, which had been seriously reduced by the exportation of gold coin, ordered the sale of another one hundred millions of four-per-cent bonds. This sum was a part of the total two hundred and sixty-two millions referred to in a preceding paragraph.

The relation of the United States to the Cuban rebellion now brought in an incident which, for the time, produced considerable excitement and portended danger. A British steamship, called the *Bermuda*, lying in the harbor of New York, was boarded by the officers of our Government on the ground that the managers of the vessel were fitting out a filibustering expedition to Cuba. Such use of an American harbor was in violation of international law. A large amount of munitions of war, which had been accumulated and put on board of the *Bermuda*, was seized. It was ascertained that General Calixto Garcia, of Cuba, was the promoter of the proposed expedition. He was arrested by the officers of the United States, but was subsequently released. On the 15th of March he succeeded in sailing from the harbor of New York with the *Bermuda*, which had again been well supplied with munitions of war, and in reaching the Cuban insurgents without serious difficulty — a thing that could hardly have been accomplished but for the secret friendship of the United States for the patriots of Cuba.

Three days after the incident here referred to, the Senate of the

United States passed resolutions, offering the recognition by our Government of the Cuban insurgents to the extent of their rights as belligerents. Similar resolutions were carried in the House. The effect of this action was to arouse profound indignation in Spain. In that country hostile demonstrations were made against the United States, and it was with difficulty that the Spanish Government could protect the American consulates from the violence of the angry mobs. So great was the excitement in Spain that the universities had to be closed in order to prevent the violence of rioting students.

It was at this juncture that the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, ambassador of the United States at the Court of St. James, aroused the animosity of his countrymen by certain speeches which he made at Edinburgh and at Boston, England. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Bayard dwelt upon the common interests of Great Britain and the United States, and indicated the usefulness and expediency of an Anglo-American alliance — such as was, within two years, openly advocated by the so-called Imperialist party in the United States. For these utterances the House of Representatives passed resolutions of censure against Ambassador Bayard, condemning him for misrepresenting the purposes and sentiments of the American people.

In April of this year occurred an international episode of considerable interest. Some idealist had proposed that the ancient Olympian games be revived, and that representatives of the European and American nations should repair to Athens to participate in the celebration of the 766th Olympiad. The project excited the imaginations of many peoples, and athletes from several countries in Europe and America repaired to the scene of the contest. The games were celebrated in the ancient classical manner. One of the principal features was racing. It remained for the year 1896 of our era to witness the repetition of the old foot-race made from the field of Marathon to the Acropolis in Athens. The race was won by an American! Indeed, our Americans showed themselves to great advantage in these games. Eleven of the so-called "points" of excellence were awarded to American athletes. The Greeks won ten points; the Germans seven; the French five; the English three; the Hungarians two; the Australians two; the Danes one, and the Swiss one.

President Cleveland was an advocate and promoter of Civil Service reform. While his popularity declined as his administration wore on, he nevertheless endeared himself to many reformers by his

persistency in attempting to improve the Civil Service. During his second term he placed fully 30,000 employees of the National Government under the Civil Service rules. This was the largest practical movement ever made in the direction of a general reform of the Civil Service in the United States. The sincerity of Mr. Cleveland in promoting this great work, which had been begun nominally as far back as the administration of Grant, cannot be doubted, and this fact will probably remain as the principal thing to be commended in his administrative policy.

Another incident of the year 1896 related to the metropolis of the nation. On the 11th of May, Levi P. Morton signed a bill for the institution of what, in the phraseology of the times, is called "Greater New York." The policy of enlarging cities so as to include much and exclude little had already been begun in Chicago. About fifteen years previously that city had widened her borders until she had become of greater territorial extent than any other city in the world. Her Halsted Street, straight as an arrow, had been extended within the corporate limits to the unparallel length of twenty-eight miles! The project of a like enlargement was agitated in New York, and the sentiment in favor thereof grew till at length it prevailed, and "Greater New York" became a fact. By this means Long Island City, as well as Brooklyn, and all of Richmond County, with many surrounding cities and suburbs, were included under a single municipal government, thus advancing New York to the second rank among the cities of the world. Only London remained at the close of the century superior in population and resources to the American metropolis.

The continuance of the hard times, involving almost universal distress in the industrial life of the American people, tended constantly in the last two years of Cleveland's administration to disintegrate the political parties. There was distraction in party management, and cross-purposes prevailed in every convention that was held. No such serious upheaval had been known since the rise of the Republican party, in 1856. The National Convention of that party was called to meet at St. Louis on the 18th of June. It was with the greatest difficulty that the body could be held together in tolerable solidarity until a nomination of candidates could be made. A considerable faction, under the leadership of Senator Teller, of Colorado, and Senator Stewart, of Nevada, withdrew from the Convention hall; but the principal body remained intact, and William McKinley, of Ohio, was nominated for President of the United

States. For Vice-President, Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey, was nominated.

The platform declared for the maintenance of the gold standard of values; for bimetallism by international agreement; for the re-establishment of a protective tariff: for the control of the Hawaiian Islands by the United States; for the ownership of the Nicaraguan Canal by our Government; for an increase of the army and navy; for the purchase of the Danish Islands in the West Indies to be used as a coaling station; for the protection of American citizens in Armenia and Turkey; for the development of reciprocity in trade with the Central and South American Republics; for the admission to Statehood of the Territories; for the creation of a National Board of Arbitration to adjust the disputes between capital and labor.

On the 7th of July, the Democratic National Convention was called at Chicago. This body, also, was threatened with disruption. The one vital issue between that body was the question of the restoration of the silver coinage to the position which it held before the act of 1873. The sentiment in favor of the free coinage of silver was overwhelmingly predominant in the Democratic Convention; but the opposite opinion was stubbornly upheld by the minority, under the leadership of Senator David B. Hill, of New York.

As champion of the free silver cause, at length appeared in the Convention William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, who, in a brilliant speech, carried the convention with overwhelming enthusiasm to the standard of free silver. He was then himself nominated for the Presidency. For the Vice-Presidency, the nomination was given to Arthur Sewall, of Maine. The platform declared for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1; for a tax on incomes; for a repeal of the protective tariff laws; for the prohibition of immigration in competition with American labor; for an increase in the powers in the Inter-State Commerce Commission, etc. The Convention also uttered a severe criticism on the Supreme Court relative to the abrogation of the income tax, and on the National banking system of the United States. Rotation in office was favored, as was also the early admission of New Mexico and Arizona into the Union.

The National Convention of the Populist party was held in St. Louis on the 22d of June. By this body the Democratic nomination of William Jennings Bryan, for the Presidency, was indorsed, and for Vice-President, Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, was nominated. The platform declared for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of

16 to 1; for the ownership by Government of the railway and telegraph lines of the United States; for free homes to settlers; for a tax on incomes; for postal savings banks; for an increase in the volume of currency. The Convention declared against the issuance of National bonds; declared in favor of direct legislation through the initiative and referendum, and insisted on immediate foreclosure of the liens held by the Government of the United States on the Pacific railways. All three of the leading Conventions declared the sympathy of the American people for the patriots of Cuba.

On the 2d of September, 1896, a wing of the Democratic party, calling itself "the *National* Democratic party," convened in the City of Indianapolis, and went through the form of nominating for the Presidency, Ex-Senator John M. Palmer, of Illinois, and General Simon B. Buckner, of Kentucky, for the Vice-Presidency. The principal item in the platform was the declaration for the establishment and perpetuation of the gold standard of values. It also declared for a tariff for revenue only. The members of this Convention issued mostly from the capitalistic centers of the country, and came together for the purpose of preventing, if possible, the election of the regular Democratic candidates.

The result of the election was in favor of the Republicans. McKinley and Hobart were chosen by a popular majority of 601,854. The vote of the Republican candidate showed a majority *over all* of 286,452. The electoral vote was, for William McKinley, 271; for William Jennings Bryan, 176. This result had been proclaimed in advance, as the fact from which a revival of prosperity was to come to the American people. During the months of November and December a symptom of such revival was seen, but it proved to be only superficial and factitious. The end of the year saw business prostrated as before, and the elections occurring in April of 1897, indicated the disappointment of the people, even in the great cities, and their discontent with the policy of the victorious party.

In the meantime — that is, in the summer of 1896 — a wave of interest passed over the nation, originating in the far North. Another Polar Expedition was added to the long list of those that had preceded it. The Norwegian explorer, Fridtjof Nansen, conducting an Arctic expedition, arrived at Värdo, Norway, on the 13th of August, with the announcement that he had succeeded in reaching a higher latitude than ever before attained by man. His farthest point towards the Polar spot was registered as 86° 14′ N. Nansen had prosecuted his voyage in the belief that a constant current flows

from the Siberian Sea into that of Greenland. He had noted the driftwood on the coast of Greenland, and had found traces in the ice-masses and mud and dust of that region, leading him to believe that these vestigia were of Siberian origin. Acting on this belief, he constructed a vessel able to withstand the impact of ice, and undertook to float with the ice-pack from the new Siberian Islands to Spitzbergen. The explorer was endowed, to the extent of $100,000, by the Norwegian Storthing and by private contributions. His ship was called the *Fram*.

Nansen departed on his voyage on the 24th of June, 1893. The explorer ascertained, for the first time, the correct outline of the Siberian coast. It was in 78° 50′ N. that the *Fram* was anchored to an iceberg. This was in 133° 34′ east longitude. For six weeks the *Fram* drifted to the south. Then the northward tide set in, and continued through the winter and spring of 1893 and 1894. The cold was appalling. For weeks together the mercury was frozen. The desolation of the ice-fields was terrible to witness. But the *Fram* withstood all assaults. At length the deep Polar Sea was found. At 70° N. the line showed ninety fathoms. From this point, voyaging northward, the measurement ranged first to 1,600 and then to 1,900 fathoms. In June, of 1894, the vessel reached 81° 52′ N., and about New Year's Day, 1895, the point of 82° 24′ N. was passed. This marked the ultimate excursion northward of former explorers. Passing this line, Nansen entered a sea never before traversed by a ship.

For a season the *Fram* was frozen fast in an ice-floe, thirty feet in thickness, but the stout ship at length broke loose and emerged from the situation, wholly uninjured. Satisfied that the vessel would drift safely toward Greenland, Nansen, on the 14th of March, 1895, accompanied by Lieutenant Johansen, with dog-sledges and small boats, started north on the ice-floe. On the 7th of April, 1895, he arrived, after indescribable toil and peril, in latitude 86° 14′ N., which was the highest point of his venture towards the Pole.

The return journey was of incredible hardship. On the 22d of June, 1895, a seal was shot, and by this means the explorers were saved from starvation. The journey was resumed, and on the 24th of July land was seen; but the ice had not been broken up, and two weeks passed before the shore was reached. The point of land was the hitherto unknown projection of Franz Joseph Land. Here Nansen and his companions dwelt during the winter of 1895–96. They

lived on bear and walrus meat, in a hut roofed with skins and warmed with burning oil. With the coming of spring, the explorers proceeded down the coast, where they were met by Captain Jackson, leader of an English expedition, which had been sent to Franz Joseph Land on the day of Nansen's arrival. At Värdo the *Fram* entered open water a little northwest of Spitzbergen. The crew had been obliged to blast their way through one hundred and fifty miles of the ice-pack. On August 20th the *Fram* was anchored safely in the harbor of Skærvo, Finmark. Such had been the good fortune of the expedition that not a single life was lost during the more than three years of exposure to the perils of the Polar seas.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

McKINLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

ON the 4th of March, 1897, William McKinley was inaugurated as twenty-third President of the United States. The event was brilliant and spectacular. In the new Cabinet the place of Secretary of State was given to John Sherman, of Ohio. The other appointments were: Lyman J. Gage, of Illinois, Secretary of the Treasury; Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, Secretary of War; John D. Long, of Massachusetts, Secretary of the Navy; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, Secretary of the Interior; Joseph McKenna, of California, Attorney-General; James A. Gary, of Maryland, Postmaster-General; James Wilson, of Iowa, Secretary of Agriculture.

The restoration of the Republican party to power was outwardly auspicious. The new administration began with a powerful majority behind it. The great organized powers of the country were almost unanimous in its support. The populous cities, with their tremendous corporate interests, were strongly devoted to the new President, and strongly influential in determining the policy of the incoming administration. The political history of the country, reviewed for the last twenty years, thus showed a series of remarkable oscillations. The Democratic victory of 1884 succeeded the long-unbroken Republican ascendency which had gone before. The election of 1888 brought a revulsion, and put the Republican party into power under Harrison. The

result in 1892 showed another striking reaction in the restoration to power of the Democratic party during the second administration of Cleveland. The election of 1896 still again reversed the public judgment, and brought back the Republican ascendency under McKinley.

By this period in our country's history, nearly all of the great actors in the heroic epoch of the Civil War had either passed away or subsided into the inaction of old age. But the heroes of the great conflict might, in the language of Byron, still be said to

"Rule our spirits from their urns."

The 27th of April, 1897, was the seventy-fifth anniversary of the birth of Gen. Ulysses S. Grant. The occasion was celebrated with a remarkable memorial service and parade in New York City. Then was dedicated and delivered to the custody of the city the great marble tomb of General Grant, at Riverside Park, on the Hudson. In a preceding part of this work we have already narrated the circumstances of the death of the hero at Appomattox, and of the preparations for building an appropriate monument to his memory. This work was undertaken soon after the general's decease, but for some time the enterprise, under insufficient management, lagged. At length, however, Gen. Horace Porter, who had been a member of Grant's staff during the large part of the Civil War, was appointed at the head of a Monument Commission to prosecute the work of completion. Books were opened, and subscriptions to the number of more than ninety thousand were made to finish the monument. A suitable site was selected a short distance south of the temporary tomb in which General Grant's remains had lain for more than a half-score of years, and there the splendid mausoleum was built. No other such tomb exists in the New World. The structure is of plain marble, in the severest simplicity of the Doric style.

The monument was completed by the beginning of 1897, but the dedication was postponed until the recurrence of the anniversary of the birth of the hero, April 27, 1897. The event was memorable. The parade was the finest ever witnessed in America. Great interest was shown by the people in all parts of the United States. The ceremonies were more elaborate than those attending the first funeral of the general, nearly twelve years previously. In spite of the chilly air and high wind which prevailed, the great city put on her memorial garb, and the long course of the procession was through

the finest display of flags and streamers and emblems ever witnessed in New York.

About a million people thronged the line of march or awaited the arrival of the column at the monument. More than sixty thousand men were in line of whom fully ten thousand were veterans of the Union War. Large detachments of Confederate veterans also participated in the parade, for General Grant's memory is cherished also by old soldiers of the "Lost Cause." Federal troops, State militia organizations, naval and military cadets, and civic bodies without number, completed the procession, which was many hours in passing, and which *en route* was everywhere received with the strongest expressions of appreciation and affectionate approval.

The city was in gala attire. There was universal holiday. The march was begun at 10.30 A. M., and was not completed until 7 P. M. The grand stands were erected in the vast open spaces around the monument. Here the distinguished guests were assembled. The members of General Grant's family had the place of honor. The President and the retiring ex-President of the United States sat on the platform, and were surrounded with a great throng of the most distinguished American and foreign guests. The principal speakers were President McKinley and General Horace Porter, the latter of whom delivered the formal oration of the day. The event indicated clearly the strong patriotic sentiments of the American people, their surviving enthusiasm for military heroism, and, in particular, their unquenchable devotion to the memory of the Silent Man of Galena.

The project for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States neither slumbered nor slept. The measure was never viewed with public favor, but the slow-working intrigue of powerful interests at length prevailed, and in June of 1897 the President sent to the Senate a treaty providing for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. This produced a strong protest from Japan. In answer it was alleged that Japan herself had planned to seize upon Hawaii, and this charge received a certain plausibility from the fact that the number of Japanese in the Republic was far beyond the number of any other one nationality, and also from the fact that Japan, on account of the refusal of the officials at Hawaii to allow a large number of Japanese immigrants to land, had sent two war-ships to the harbor of Honolulu. On the other hand, Japan declared that the shutting out of the immigrants was contrary to her treaty with the

Republic, and that the war-ships had been sent to the island merely in support of her claim for damages.

The rumors of a possible Japanese uprising in the island, while largely credited in the United States, were not trustworthy, owing to the essential minority of numbers on the part of the Japanese as compared with all others in the territory. Of the native Hawaiians of pure blood there were at least thirty-seven thousand, with an additional ten thousand of mixed descent. Of the Chinese, the natural enemies of the Japanese, there were fifteen thousand, while the nine thousand Portuguese, two thousand Americans, fifteen hundred Englishmen and twelve hundred Germans, made the total much too great to be overcome by the Japanese single handed.

In signing the treaty of annexation the State Department made the declaration to the effect that the Government of the Republic was of an elective and parliamentary character that had been formerly organized by the foreign powers, and that it had continued for four years firm in its authority, wherefore its petition for the protection of the United States might be justly regarded as the will of the people. As to the character of the bulk of the inhabitants, the difficulties of admitting them to citizenship were dismissed with the statement that it would seem to be advisable that Hawaii should continue permanently as an annexed Territory, without having any authority in the legislation of the United States.

No sooner was the new administration well organized than the tariff question was revived, both within and out of Congress. There had been an attempt in the last presidential campaign to make this the vital issue; but the people were more concerned for a settlement of the money question, though a measure of interest still attached to the tariff. The Republican party was committed to a revision of the Wilson Bill of 1893, and there was an attempt on the part of the administration to make this the sole question of discussion in a special session of Congress. To this end the subject was immediately sent to the House Committee of Ways and Means, of which Mr. Dingley, of Maine, was chairman. After about two months the bill was prepared, which effected considerable changes in the existing schedules, increasing the tariff on many articles to the protective level, and transferring many others from the *ad-valorem* schedule, which had been largely used in the Wilson scheme, to the list of specific duties.

The bill, which was passed by the House of Representatives, went to the Senate, was debated by that body, and was extensively

revised and amended. In this form the measure was sent to a Conference Committee of the two Houses, from which it was reported back on the 19th of July, and was adopted by the Lower House. Once more the bill went to the Senate for approval, and was by that body adopted on the 24th, receiving thereupon the President's signature, and becoming a law of the land. The measure was less radical than had been anticipated, and was in the nature of a compromise among the various elements of commercial society, whose interests, drawing in this direction and in that, resulted in a final patchwork of devices for increasing the revenue and affording additional protection to certain branches of industry.

During the winter of 1897–1898, the relations of the United States and Spain were strained not a little on account of the Cuban rebellion. The American people, in the nature of the case, sympathized with the insurgent Cubans, and conceived a strong dislike for Spanish dominion in the West Indies. It is probable that the efforts of the Cuban Junta and the sale of Cuban bonds in the United States — which bonds would become valuable in case the rebellion should be successful, but remain valueless in the event of failure — conduced to the growing dislike of Spain, and made more probable the interference of our Government.

To this already dangerous condition of affairs, an incident was presently added which, although it was disavowed as a cause of the war which ensued, was no doubt one of the leading incentives thereto. On the evening of the 15th of February, 1898, while the American battleship *Maine* was lying at anchor in the harbor of Havana, a dreadful explosion, either within or without the vessel, occurred, by which the battleship was wrecked and sent to the bottom. The catastrophe, if accidental, might well have been overlooked but for the loss of life. Two hundred and sixty-six American seamen were carried down with the great ship to instantaneous death in the sea. Only Captain Sigsbee and a few of the officers who were on shore escaped the awful fate of the sailors and men on board.

The sensation produced by the destruction of the *Maine* was great. The distrust and anger of the American people could hardly be restrained. The *Maine* had gone into the harbor of Havana in a friendly way, as is customary with the battleships of nations in foreign waters. The suspicion that the ship had been treacherously destroyed was confirmed by many circumstances, but the thing done was immediately disavowed by the Spanish authorities. A court of inquiry was at once ordered, and an investigation made of the cir-

BATTLESHIP MAINE.

cumstances of the case. This court rather vaguely reported that according to the evidence, the *Maine* was destroyed by some explosion against her side from without. The character of the wreck indicated, by the bending of the irons, that the force had been applied from without. But in what manner the torpedo was exploded, or the mine was sprung, was not ascertained. In any event, the loss of the great battleship, with nearly all her brave defenders, furnished an animus in the war that ensued, and justly or unjustly, the battle-cry of "Remember the *Maine*" was heard on the American side in every engagement, whether on land or sea.

The general tendency of affairs, and the war-breeding incident just narrated, acted together in precipitating hostilities between the two countries. Conflicting reports were scattered broadcast relative to the condition of affairs in Cuba. The war in that island had in many cases degenerated into bloodthirsty cruelty on the part of the Spaniards, and into guerilla methods and bushwhacking on the part of the Cubans. The government of Captain-General Weyler might well be indicated with a splotch of blood traced round about with cinders. Appeals to the Government of the United States for interference multiplied. There was a brief interval of confusion and growing hostility, and then a Commission of Inquiry headed by Senator Thurston proceeded to Cuba. The report of this body, made in the two Houses of Congress, was wholly inimical to Spain. The excitement in governmental circles rose to a high pitch, and resolutions were proposed declaring in favor of autonomy for Cuba, and the cessation of Spanish rule. Measures of interference were at first devised, with the avowed object of ending the war in Cuba. But this could hardly be effected without other war of more serious proportions. The President at length sent to Congress a lengthy message on the condition of affairs in Cuba, and the evils of Spanish rule. He concluded his communication by asking, rather inconsequentially and vaguely, for authority to act at his own discretion in the premises, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as a sort of backing for his diplomacy in bringing the Cuban business to a settlement.

The President's message did not satisfy. Congress in hot blood took the matter up, and passed a resolution *directing* the President to interfere in the affairs of Cuba, to the end of securing independence for the people of the island. Hereupon the Spanish minister left Washington, and on the 21st of April a resolution was passed declaring that the people of Cuba are, and of a right ought to be,

free and independent. To this the President gave his assent, and on the 22d of the month, issued a proclamation ordering the blockade of the Cuban ports.

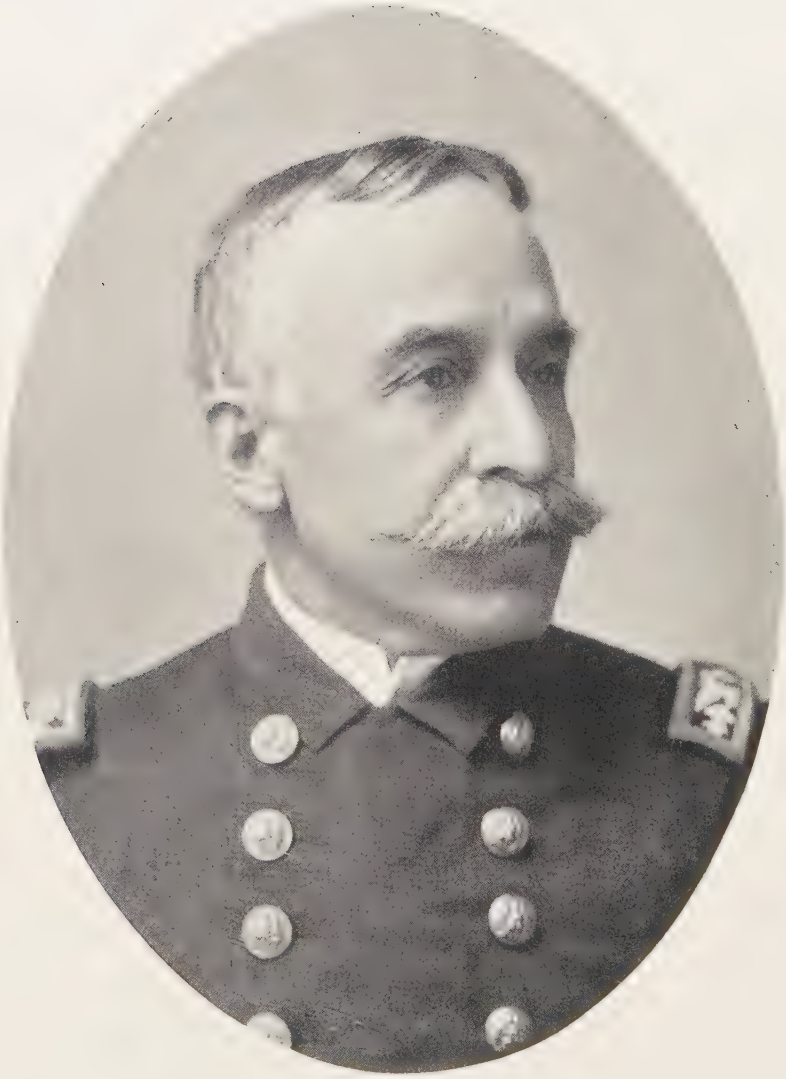
The American navy, including the fleet of battleships commanded by Admiral Sampson and the Flying Squadron under command of Commodore Schley, was amply sufficient for the task assigned. The general plan of the war looked, first of all, to the expulsion of the Spanish authorities from Cuba. On the 23d of April, the President issued a call for 125,000 volunteers to serve for two years. It was evident from the first that a large land and naval force must be sent to the West Indies to carry out, by blockade, invasion and battle, the policy of the Government. Preparations were immediately made to this end, and in a few days the war was begun.

At the outbreak of hostilities an attack on Havana was expected, but the fortifications of that city were so strong and the harbor was so dangerously mined that it was deemed inexpedient to make a naval descent on the place. The American fleet was accordingly directed first of all against Matanzas, and afterwards against Santiago de Cuba. As early as the 27th of the month, the batteries at Matanzas on the coast of Cuba were bombarded by Admiral Sampson's flagship, the *New York*. The other ships participating in the attack were the cruiser *Cincinnati* and the monitor *Puritan*. This first action of the war was trivial, and resulted in no loss to the Americans.

The Spanish authorities were dependent upon their fleets rather than on their armies. On the 29th of April, Admiral Cervera with his squadron left the Cape Verde Islands for Cuba. The armament consisted of the battleships *Cristobal Colon*, the *Almirante Oquendo*, the *Maria Teresa* and the *Vizcaya;* also the torpedo destroyers *Furor*, *Terror* and *Pluton*. The sequel showed that the Spanish policy was to leave the Cuban capital to its own defences, and to establish an offensive and defensive base at Santiago. Cervera's fleet reached that place on the 19th of May, made its way into the harbor, and was quickly blockaded by the squadron of Commodore Schley.

Cervera's course in permitting himself to be thus pent in the harbor of Santiago was considered a serious mistake in naval strategy. The event proved the fatal character of the Spanish commander's expedient, though by entering the harbor of Santiago he was able to place his fleet under protection of the land batteries and the Castle Morro, to which he in turn could give support.

The first event of the war, however, which excited enthusiasm



ADMIRAL DEWEY.

in the United States, and interest throughout the world, was destined to occur at a distance of many thousands of miles from the West Indies. As soon as hostilities were declared, the conflict passed from the local to the general aspect, and events were precipitated with great rapidity. The war must, as we have said, be for the most part maritime. Spain, becoming the enemy of the United States, must needs expose all of her insular dependencies to the attacks of the American navy. The whole horizon of the Spanish possessions was at once scanned, and the policy of assailing these, wherever they might be, was adopted by the American Government.

At this time, namely, in the last of April, 1898, the Pacific Squadron of the United States, under command of Commodore George Dewey, was off the coast of China. The fleet consisted of nine vessels, including two transports and colliers, the *Nanshan* and *Zafiro*. The war-vessels were the Commodore's flagship *Olympia*, the *Baltimore*, the *Raleigh*, the *Petrel*, the *Concord*, the *Boston*, the *McCulloch*. This armament was anchored in Mirs Bay, when the news of the declaration of hostilities reached Hong Kong. Commodore Dewey was ordered by cable to attack and if possible destroy the Spanish Pacific fleet which was at that time anchored in the Bay of Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands.

The harbor of that city was defended not only by the warships of Spain, but also by the land batteries which had been established at the naval station of Cavite, about seven miles southwest of Manila. The Spanish armament, consisting of ten vessels, was commanded by Admiral de Montojo. His ships were the flagship *Reina Cristina*, the *Castilla*, the *Antonio de Ulloa*, the *Isla de Cuba*, the *Isla de Luzon*, *El Correo*, the *Marquis de Duero*, the *Velasco*, the *General Lezo*, and the *Mindanao*. The fleet in the last days of April lay under the protection of the heavy guns of Cavite.

During these same days, Commodore Dewey got under way on the Chinese coast, and on the 30th of the month, anchored in Subig Bay, on the coast of Luzon, about thirty miles from Manila. Thence in the night, he followed the shore-line, and about midnight made his way through the channel into the harbor of Manila. On the next day, which was Sunday, May 1st, about five o'clock in the morning, the American squadron, arranged in battle order, headed for the Spanish position. A spirit of enthusiasm prevailed among the sailors. A foolish and bombastic proclamation issued by Divilio, the Spanish Governor of the Philippines, was read, and the attack was begun with shouts of "Remember the *Maine!*"

This was the first conflict of American battleships with foreign armored vessels. The details of the battle may be omitted from the narrative. The *Olympia* led the fighting from the American line, and the *Reina Cristina* took the brunt of the onset. From the first, it was noted that the Spanish guns, though courageously served, were not skillfully aimed. The shots flew wide of the mark. Many of the shells fell short and others exploded far over and beyond the American vessels. At length, as Dewey's ships with each circuit of attack drew nearer and nearer to the Spanish vessels, and received their fire as well as that from the shore batteries, feeling no hurt from either, until only fifteen hundred yards remained between the lines, the *Reina Cristina* steamed out courageously against the *Olympia*, and was mortally wounded with two tremendous shells, which struck her, exploded, and set the vessel on fire.

This was the beginning of the final *melée*. Dewey, after five circuits, ever nearing the Spanish ships, closed with his antagonists, and one by one the enemy's vessels were destroyed or driven ashore. Once during the engagement, between seven and eight o'clock, the American commander drew off to inform himself better than he could otherwise do of his injuries and losses — if any — and to refresh the sailors with their morning coffee! His conduct throughout was as cool and discerning as if the battle were a sham fight in friendly waters. Not a vessel of Montojo's fleet was saved. The loss of life to the Spaniards was great, but on the American side not a single man was killed! Only the engineer of one ship fell down and expired from a nervous shock. The victory of the American fleet was complete and overwhelming. Even the land batteries of Cavite were silenced. Thus, in added glory to the American flag, was ended the first conflict of the war. The news reached the United States by way of Hong Kong and produced the greatest excitement and enthusiasm. Commodore Dewey sprang suddenly into fame, and he remained to the end, *par excellence*, the hero of the war.

The next event of the war, far less important than the battle of Manila, occurred at Cardenas on the Cuban coast, on the 11th of May. This place was defended by land batteries, and against these the armored cruiser *Wilmington*, the torpedo boat *Winslow* and the gunboat *Hudson* were directed. Several Spanish vessels were lying at the docks at Cardenas. As soon as the American vessels came within range, they opened fire. The Spanish batteries replied, and there was a furious engagement, resulting in the silencing of the Spanish guns.

Here was shed the first American blood of the war. A Spanish shell struck the *Winslow* in the hull and destroyed her boiler. The *Hudson* came to her relief, and threw out a line, but just at this juncture, while Ensign Bagley and six men were standing in a group to catch the line, a Spanish shell exploded in their very faces. The Ensign and four of the men were killed. The engagement was notable also for another circumstance, and that was for the first landing of the Americans on Cuban soil. A short distance from Cardenas, at a place called Diana Cay, was a Spanish battery, which was attacked and silenced by a steel gunboat, the *Machias*. As soon as the firing ceased Ensign Willard, with only three men, went ashore and raised the American flag over the wreck of the defences.

In the mean time, the land and naval forces of the United States were despatched to several strategic points. On the 11th of May the fleet, under command of Rear-Admiral Sampson, made a descent on Porto Rico, and on the following morning began a bombardment of San Juan. This place, the capital of the Island, was defended by a castle named the Morro — for such is a favorite name which the Spaniards give to their principal fortresses or bastions. Sampson's fleet consisted of the powerful battleships *Iowa* and *Indiana*, the armored cruisers *Detroit* and *New York*, and the monitors *Amphitrite* and *Terror*, together with the *Wampatuck* and other auxiliaries. The Spanish position was strong, but the artillery of Castle Morro was chiefly the 7-inch guns which the Spanish Government had recently sent out, very unequal in caliber and range to the tremendous pieces of the American battleships.

The bombardment began in the early morning. The tropical heat was quite intolerable. The American sailors began to drop down from exhaustion, but the Spanish fire did little harm. After three or four hours of fighting, during which the American shells passing over the fortifications, and falling in the town of San Juan, wrought dreadful havoc with all manner of edifices and drove the inhabitants into the country, Sampson ordered the firing to cease, and steamed to the westward a distance of twenty miles, where the fleet came to anchor and the sailors were refreshed and rested. What the Spanish losses were could not then be ascertained, but the Americans escaped with little injury. The battleships were hit many times, but no men were killed. The event demonstrated the great difficulty of overcoming land fortifications without the co-operation of an army.

At this time it appeared that the war would assume first-class proportions. On the 25th of May, the President of the United States

issued a call for 75,000 additional volunteers. On the same day, an advanced detachment of the army, under General Wesley Merritt, who had been appointed Military Governor for the Philippines, was despatched from San Francisco for Manila. Other detachments, making an aggregate of several thousand men, were sent forward to the same destination. All the transports arrived in safety in due course of time, thus presenting the spectacle of an American army and fleet far off the eastern coast of Asia, fully nine thousand miles from the shores of North America.

At the close of May, the chief interest of the war centered at Santiago de Cuba. There the Spanish fleet of Cervera was blockaded. On the 31st of the month, the *Iowa*, the *Massachusetts* and the *New Orleans* bombarded the Spanish fortifications at the mouth of the harbor, and the attack was kept up after Admiral Sampson took command in person. It was at this juncture, namely, on the 3d of June, that the assistant naval constructor, Richmond P. Hobson, performed the daring exploit which so greatly aroused the enthusiasm of his countrymen. Under direction of Admiral Sampson, Lieutenant Hobson, with a detachment of seven brave fellows like himself, took an old and heavy ship, the collier *Merrimac*, and steered the vessel under fire of the Spanish batteries and fleet into the narrow throat of the harbor, and by exploding a torpedo sunk the ship almost crosswise in the channel. The object was to plant an obstruction which should prevent an exit of Cervera's fleet. The fact that the undertaking was not quite effectual by no means marred the heroism of Hobson and his men, who, after their daring exposure to the Spanish shells coming down in a shower on the vessel and all around her, took to a boat, pushed off from the wreck, signalled to the Spanish officers and were captured without the loss of one life! The name of Hobson suddenly appeared in eulogiums on all the newsboards in America.

Seven days after Hobson's exploit, a military descent was made on the island, and six hundred marines were landed at Caimanera, on Guantanamo Bay. The Spaniards resisted the movement, and fighting ensued in a desultory manner for several days. The skirmishing hardly rose to the dignity of battle, though the Spanish losses were considerable, and a few Americans were killed.

By this time the preparations for a formidable invasion of the West Indies were sufficiently forward to permit the departure of an expedition. A large army had been collected as the Fifth Corps at Tampa, Florida, from which place on the 12th of June, the soldiers,

embarking on twenty-nine transports, were directed to Santiago under command of Brigadier-General William H. Shafter. It was intended that this force should co-operate with Admiral Sampson and Commodore Scott Schley in their reduction of Santiago. The expedition arrived at its destination on the 20th of June, and was debarked two days afterwards at Baiquiri and Siboney, a short distance from the old capital of the island.

At this period of the war, the progress of events began to be distracted by cross-purposes among the military authorities. Personal motives and the disposition to advance the favorites of the War Department, to the end that military reputations might be made and marred, influenced not a little the progress and character of the various movements. The methods adopted to raise a revenue sufficient for the heavy expenditures of the Government were debated in Congress, and the influence of the monied interests began to be felt in shaping legislation. The revenue bill, which was passed and signed by the President on the 13th of June, provided for stamp duties on many kinds of business paper, and for taxation on an extensive schedule of commodities. It also provided for the sale of $200,000,000 of three-per-cent 10–20 bonds.

These were designated as a *popular* loan, but in practice they were nearly all absorbed by the national banks as a means to the end of enlarging and perpetuating the circulation of their notes. The Secretary of the Treasury made haste to sell these bonds to the limit of his option, until, notwithstanding the large expenditures of the Government, the Treasury became engorged with money to the extent of hundreds of millions of dollars. This large sum abstracted from the general means of exchange created a stricture in the money market while the business was on, and still further reduced the price of commodities.

In spite of these adverse conditions, however, the war was waged with much enthusiasm. All political parties joined in support of the Government in the active prosecution of its military enterprises. Meanwhile, the remaining Spanish fleet, lying at Cadiz, was ordered by the military authorities of the kingdom to start for the Philippines there to confront the squadron of Admiral Dewey. The Spanish armament steamed through the Mediterranean and the Suez Canal, but the Sagasta government became alarmed lest Admiral Camara's fleet should be sent to the bottom, like that of Admiral Montijo. An order was accordingly despatched for the return of the expedition, and Camara retraced his course. It was expected in the United

States that the Spanish commander would continue his progress across the Atlantic to aid in the liberation of Cervera's fleet at Santiago, but this movement was not attempted.

The first fighting, after a landing of American troops was effected on Cuban soil, was brought on by the advance of a cavalry force under Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, of New York. His Rough Riders, so called, in a courageous but rather spectacular way, got well to the front, and on the 24th of June fell into a Spanish ambush. Here there was a taste of serious battle. The ground was hotly contested, and the Spaniards were with difficulty driven back.

A much more serious engagement, developing into the one considerable battle of the war, followed six days afterwards. Two of the brigade commanders under General Shafter leading the advance, the first on El Caney and the second on San Juan Hill, brought on a furious engagement. In this conflict, the mettle of the two armies was seriously tested. The troops engaged were the first division of the Fifth Army Corps. The fighting was hot and long continued, though the position of the combatants was such as to curtail the losses on both sides. The country was broken, and in most parts covered with thickets. After a battle of several hours' duration, El Caney was taken by General Lawton's forces, and San Juan Hill was carried by the brigade of General Kent. The progress of the contest for the possession of Santiago was constantly reported by cable, but the news was filtered through the censorship which the Government had established as a necessary restraint on the unbridled American press. The excitement in all parts of the country was extreme, and this was by no means allayed with the knowledge of the serious losses with which the victory was clouded. On the American side, two hundred and thirty-one men were killed, one thousand, three hundred and sixty-four wounded or missing. This sacrifice embraced nearly the entire loss by violence of the Americans during the war.

On the third of July, occurred another critical conflict ending as before in a complete victory for the Americans. We have noted the mistake of Admiral Cervera in permitting himself to be pent-up in the harbor of Santiago. He remained in that enclosure for forty-five days, backed, as it were, against the land batteries and the Castle. His situation became intolerable. Camara did not arrive from the east to assist in the liberation of his colleague. The Spanish authorities grew restless and at length, Captain-General Blanco, who had succeeded Weyler in the governorship of Cuba, ordered Admiral

Cervera to break out at all hazards. Unless this could be done, the war was already ended. It appears that Cervera doubted the expediency of getting out of the harbor. To do so meant a critical naval battle just outside, with a probable fatal result and final catastrophe to the Spanish cause. But the order to the Admiral was peremptory, and he accordingly made the trial.

In the early morning of July 3d, the American officers on the warships discovered the Spanish vessels coming through the channel. Signals for clearing were at once given, and the battleship *Iowa* put across the bow of the *Infanta Maria Teresa.* The other Spanish vessels came out one by one, and the *Oregon*, the *Brooklyn*, the *Texas*, the *Indiana*, on the American side, opened fire. Admiral Sampson's flagship, the *New York*, was several miles away at the beginning of the engagement, and the *Massachusetts* had gone to Guantanamo for a supply of coal. In a short time the Spanish vessels, though in flight, were all engaged. Cervera's flagship was the *Cristobal Colon*, and this vessel being a fast sailer got to the front. The other powerful warships of the Spaniards besides those mentioned were the *Almirante Oquendo* and the *Vizcaya.* The great guns of both fleets sent forth terrible volleys of shells, and the American fire soon took effect. One after another the Spanish ships were struck and disabled, and one after another they were destroyed. After three-quarters of an hour, only the *Cristobal Colon* remained afloat, and that vessel was steaming away with the *Oregon*, the *Brooklyn* and the *New York* in close pursuit. Vain were the efforts of Cervera to escape. The *Cristobal Colon* was run ashore, and her commander, whose valor had provoked the praise of his assailants, was obliged to save himself and the remnant of his men by surrender. Every Spanish ship was knocked to pieces or burned under the merciless fire of the American gunners. The victorious battleships, though many times struck by the Spanish shells, were little injured, and the losses were trifling. One of the incidents of the battle was the appearance of the little auxiliary *Gloucester* in the midst of the fight, where she exposed herself to imminent destruction. The *Gloucester* had been aforetime the pleasure yacht of Pierpont Morgan, of New York, by whom the vessel was sold to the Government and converted into a diminutive ironclad cruiser. Her commander, Lieutenant Wainwright, so distinguished himself by his daring as to gain the rank of a hero.

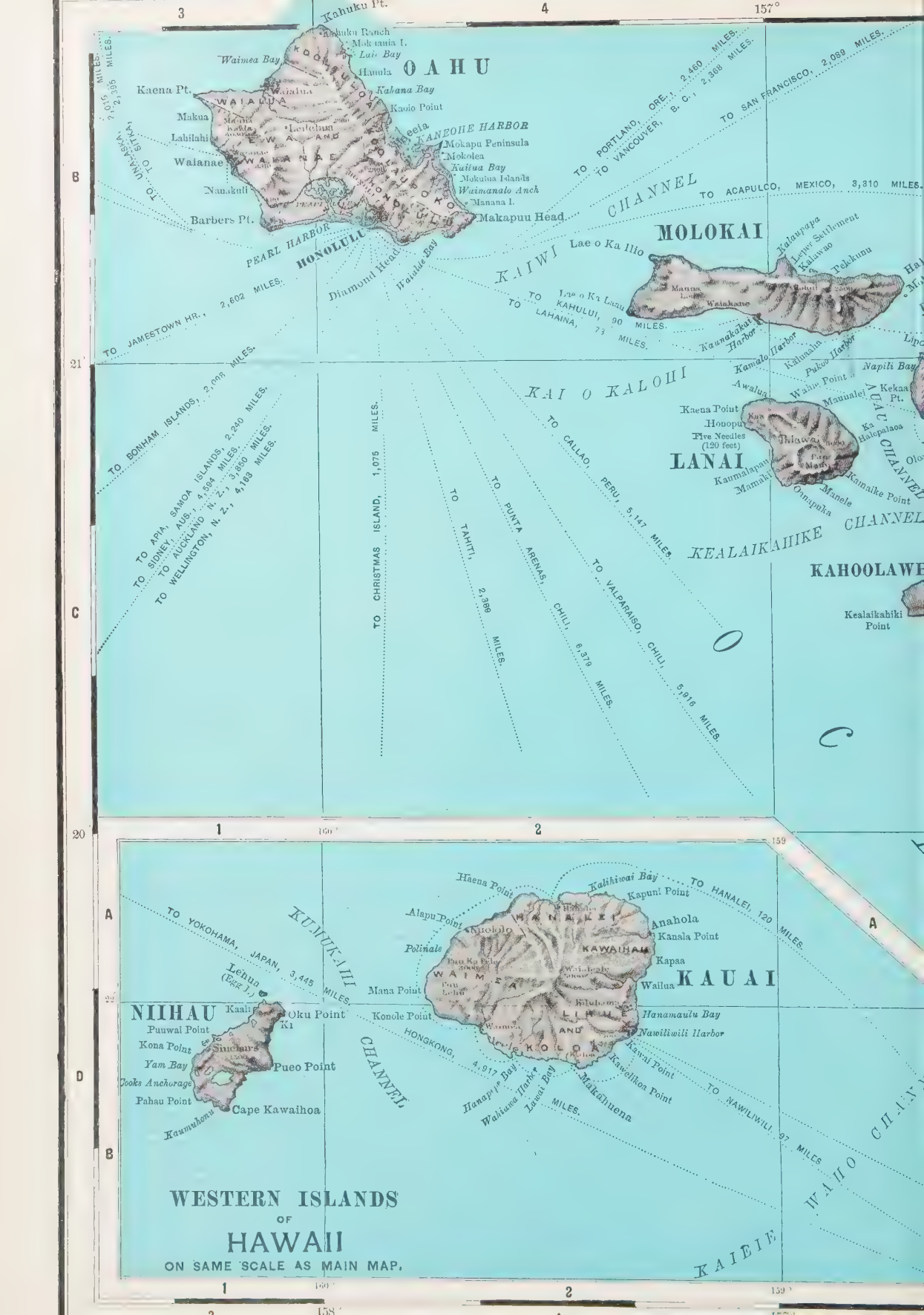
The destruction of Cervera's fleet was virtually the end of the conflict in Cuba. On the same day of the engagement, General Shafter

demanded the surrender of Santiago, and coincidentally, about the same hour, the Island of Guam, one of the Ladrones, was taken by the cruiser *Charleston* belonging to the Pacific Squadron.

On the 7th of July a notable civil event was projected into the military calendar. The effort of those interested to gain possession of the Hawaiian Islands was at last successful. Resolutions of annexation having been passed by Congress, the President of the United States, on the date referred to, signed the Congressional measure, and the steamer *Philadelphia* was despatched to raise the American flag at Honolulu.

For two weeks after the destruction of the Spanish fleet, the defences of Santiago held out against the pressure of the Americans. But, at length, resistance was seen to be useless, and the besieged city capitulated. General Linares, the Spanish commandant, had been wounded during the siege, and it devolved upon his successor, General Toral, to surrender the city and its defenders to the Americans. General Shafter, after consultation with the authorities at Washington, and acting under direction of the Commander-in-chief, dictated the terms of the capitulation, which included not only Santiago de Cuba but the whole eastern portion of the province, with a total of about 20,000 prisoners of war. The office of military governor was assigned to Gen. Leonard R. Wood, formerly Colonel of the First Volunteer Cavalry of New York.

For a while after the fleet and armies began to operate in Cuba, and in the East, Gen. Nelson A. Miles, Commander-in-chief of the American forces, remained at Washington, or directed the military and naval movements from Tampa or Key West. At length he decided to be himself the leader of an expedition into the West Indies. He accordingly embarked for the scene of war and reached Cuba on the 11th of July. He was thus in time to determine the conditions on which the surrender of Santiago would be accepted. When this work was accomplished, he put himself at the head of a large division, set out from Guantanamo Bay, and debarked at Guanica, on the Porto Rican coast. The city of San Juan had been bombarded by Admiral Sampson as early as the 12th of May, but the formal invasion of the island was not made until the 25th of July. Within three days, General Miles compelled the surrender of Ponce, by whose inhabitants he was received rather as a deliverer than as a conqueror. The other towns in the vicinity surrendered without serious resistance. The whole island was subjugated with little expenditure of treasure and with scarcely the loss of a single life. It


OAHU
MOLOKAI
LANAI
KAHOOLAWE
KAUAI
NIIHAU
WESTERN ISLANDS
OF
HAWAII
ON SAME SCALE AS MAIN MAP.
KAIWI CHANNEL
KEALAIKAHIKE CHANNEL
KAUAI CHANNEL
KAIEIE CHANNEL
KAI O KALOHI
PEARL HARBOR
HONOLULU
KANEOHE HARBOR
Kahuku Pt.
Waimea Bay
Kaena Pt.
Waialua
Kahana Bay
Kaoio Point
Makua
Lahilahi
Waianae
Nanakuli
Barbers Pt.
Makapuu Head
Manana I.
Diamond Head
Waialae Bay
Lae o Ka Ilio
Kalaupapa
Leper Settlement
Kaluaao
Pelekunu
Kamalo Harbor
Kaunakakai Harbor
Kalunaihia
Pukoo Harbor
Napili Bay
Awalua
Waiha Point
Maunalei
Kekaa Pt.
Kaena Point
Hoopuloa
Five Needles (120 feet)
Kaumalapau
Manele
Kamaike Point
Halepalaoa
Kealaikahiki Point
Haena Point
Kalihiwai Bay
Kapuni Point
Alapu Point
Anahola
Kanala Point
Polihale
Kapaa
Mana Point
Wailua
Konole Point
Hanamaulu Bay
Nawiliwili Harbor
Kawaihau
Kawelikoa Point
Hanapepe Bay
Waimea Harbor
Lawai Bay
Makahuena
Lehua (Eagle I.)
Kaali
Oku Point
Ki
Puuwai Point
Kona Point
Sinclairs
Yam Bay
Pueo Point
Cooks Anchorage
Pahau Point
Cape Kawaihoa
Kaumahona
TO PORTLAND, ORE., 2,460 MILES.
TO VANCOUVER, B. C., 2,368 MILES.
TO SAN FRANCISCO, 2,089 MILES.
TO ACAPULCO, MEXICO, 3,810 MILES.
TO HONGKONG, 4,917 MILES.
TO YOKOHAMA, JAPAN, 3,445 MILES.
TO NAWILIWILI, 97 MILES.
TO LAHAINA, 71 MILES.
TO KAHULUI, 90 MILES.
TO JAMESTOWN HR., 2,602 MILES.
TO CALLAO, PERU, 5,147 MILES.
TO VALPARAISO, CHILI, 5,916 MILES.
TO PUNTA ARENAS, CHILI, 6,379 MILES.
TO TAHITI, 2,388 MILES.
TO CHRISTMAS ISLAND, 1,075 MILES.
TO BONHAM ISLANDS, 2,003 MILES.
TO APIA, SAMOA ISLANDS, 2,240 MILES.
TO SIDNEY, AUS., 4,594 MILES.
TO AUCKLAND, N. Z., 3,860 MILES.
TO WELLINGTON, N. Z., 4,183 MILES.
TO UNALASKA, 2,015 MILES. 2,395 MILES.
TO HANALEI, 120 MILES.
157°
158°
159°
160°
21°
20°
22°
A
B
C
D
1
2
3
4

Longitude West from Greenwich.
156°
6
155°
7
MAP OF
HAWAII
SCALES.
Statute Miles, 69.16 = 1 Degree.
0 5 10 20 30 40 50
Kilometres, 111.307 = 1 Degree.
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70
Rand, McNally & Co.'s New Business Atlas Map of Hawaii.
Copyright, 1893, by Rand, McNally & Co.
PANAMA, C. A., 4,665 MILES.
MAUI
CHANNEL
Mokeehia
Kahakuloa Point
Wailuku
Spreckelsville
Makawao
Huelo
Keanae
Nahiku
Malaeloa
Kapueokahi Bay (Hana)
Kauiki Head
Alau I.
Pohakuloa
Ahole
Mokuia
Ka Lae o Ka Ilio
Kakeana
Pohaku Paea
Cape Hanamanioa
ALALAKEIKI CHANNEL
TO MAHUKONA 140 MILES.
TO KAILUA 160 MILES.
ALENUIHAHA
CHANNEL
Upolu Point
Union Mill
Kohala
Halawa
Kukoea Harbor
Akukoa Point
Honoipu Landing
Waimanu
Laupahoehoe
Kukuhaele
Honokaa
Paauhau
Mahukona Harbor
Waiokailio
Kawaihae Bay
Koholalele
Ookala
Laupahoehoe Point
Puako Bay
Hookaope Bay
Kaalau Point
Kiholo Bay
Lae Mano
Kaloiawa Bay
Makolea Point
Keahole Point
Wawahiwaa Point
Kaiwi Point
Kamoa Point
Keikiwaha Point
Honaunau Bay
Lepeamoa Rock
Ka Lae Paakai
Lae o Kamakahiki
Okoe Landing
Ke Au o Kanewaa
Kauna Point
Maulua Bay
Nahiku Point
Hakalau Bay
Honomu
Alia Point
Onomea Bay
Pankaa Pt.
HILO BAY
Leleiwi Point
Waiakea
Haena
Maiuu
Cape Kumukahi
Hallway Ho.
Kalani
Volcano House
Kilauea
Halemaumau
Keahialaka
Opihikao
Kehena
Kalapana
Kahaualea
Keauhou
Punaluu
Honuapo
Kaaluala
Mauna Loa
13675
Mauna Kea
13805
Hualalai
8275
KOHALA
HAMAKUA
HILO
NORTH KONA
SOUTH KONA
KAU
PUNA
HAWAII
PACIFIC OCEAN
21°
20°
B
C
D

was needful that General Miles, in order to participate personally in the war, should expedite his movements as much as possible, for the end was already at hand.

Not only the results of the several conflicts but also the pressure of international suggestions was felt in producing a cessation of hostilities. The French Republic, friendly through many historical, social and religious motives with the Spanish kingdom, and influenced not a little by the solicitations of the French holders of Spanish bonds, sought assiduously to bring about a cessation of the war. M. Jules Cambon, the French Ambassador at Washington, exerted himself in interviews with the President and Secretary of State to incline them favorably to peace. He procured from President McKinley, on the 30th of July, a statement of the general conditions on which the United States would consent to peace. These conditions M. Cambon signified to his own government and to Spain — with the result that the terms were first informally, and then formally, accepted.

By the 9th of August the French Ambassador was able to signify to the President the willingness of Spain to end the conflict on the conditions named. In the meantime, the troops of the United States, at the coast town of Malate, near Manila, in Luzon, had repulsed the Spaniards who had attacked them and inflicted a slight loss on the enemy.

The preliminary agreement, called a protocol, which the President of the United States prescribed to Spain, was signed by the Secretary of State for the United States and by the French Ambassador for Spain, on the 12th of August, 1898. The terms included the independence of Cuba and the withdrawal of the Spanish authorities from the island; the cession of Porto Rico to the United States — this as a result of the war; the cession of the island of Guam in the Ladrone Islands to the United States; the occupation of the harbor and city of Manila, pending the final disposition of the Phil ippines by the decision of Commissioners appointed by the two nations to meet in Paris before the 1st of October to determine by permanent treaty the conditions of peace.

The event moved forward speedily to conclusion. The President appointed as Commissioners on the part of the United States ex-Secretary of State Hon. William R. Day, Senator Cushman K. Davis, of Minnesota, Senator William P. Frye, of Maine, Hon. Whitelaw Reid, and Senator George Gray, of Delaware. The Spanish Government also appointed five distinguished Commissioners

headed by Señor Eugenio Montero Rios, President of the Spanish Senate. The other members on the side of Spain were Señor Abarzuza, Señor Garnica, General Cerero and Señor Villarrutia. The Commissioners met at Paris on the 1st of October and proceeded at once to organize and to take up the important diplomatical matters submitted to them for final decision.

The war entailed upon the American people several important consequences. In the first place, it brought the all-important question of the proper disposition and management of the insular territories acquired by the treaty. Hitherto, all territorial acquisition by the United States had been made with the distinct purpose of peopling such territories with American citizens, organizing Republican governments and admitting the territories into the Union as equal States in the sisterhood. This method did not seem to suggest itself with respect to the islands acquired by the war. These were inhabited, for the most part, by the descendants of the Latin races, by hybrid populations and by Orientals, few of whom knew anything and most of whom knew nothing of republican institutions or self-government in any form.

The proposition to establish a colonial system for the acquired islands, in the manner of the British Colonial governments, seemed repugnant to all American traditions, if not positively contrary to the Constitution of the United States. A party sprang up, however, willing to take this risk — willing to introduce a sort of modified imperialism, instead of the strictly republican and democratic theory of government. The movement, however, was opposed by an anti-imperialistic party, but the lines of division between the two did not coincide with the lines of the existing political cleavage. This question obtruded itself powerfully into the party contests of 1898.

The war brought in its train not a few results that were hurtful to the nation and a drawback on the progress of the age. The spirit of war was encouraged. The conflict, which had been undertaken generously and with the sole design of securing the independence of the Cubans, was soon poisoned with the notion of conquest and territorial aggrandizement. Those who favor the maintenance in the United States of a great standing army and a prodigious navy were encouraged, and the recently prevailing sentiment in favor of arbitration received a backset from which recovery must needs be slow. The rampant partisans of the war began to flaunt their bravado against the principles of peace, and openly to advocate the revival in America of the old war passions prevalent among the European nations.

Besides all this, abuses sprang up in the military management which reflected discredit upon the Department of War, and spread a feeling of distrust against those responsible for the welfare of the soldiers. The public provision for the support of the army was so inadequate to the actual requirements of the camp, the field, and the hospital, that private benefactions had to be added to alleviate the sufferings of the army. The naval administration was superb, but the land forces were frequently neglected, and were even deprived of the abundant provisions made by a generous people for their comfort and preservation. These facts were brought out by the American press, and were directed with much bitterness against the administrative authorities in the party contests of 1898.

Perhaps the most salutary advantage gained by the American people, as a result of the conflict with Spain, was the complete effacement of the animosities and prejudices remaining from our great Civil War. It had been very difficult for the men of the South and the men of the North to become reconciled. Though a full generation had arisen and glided away, the deep-down recollections of the past in the hearts of millions of our people could hardly be removed to give place to other sentiments than those which had prevailed in the days of the great Rebellion. The pictures of that terrible time still stood in the silent chambers, and the effort to turn their faces to the wall was resented as an affront to the dead. The war with Spain had the effect to obliterate the surviving antagonisms of our people. The men of the old Confederacy and their sons sprang forward with enthusiasm to the support of the national cause. Such men as Gen. Fitzhugh Lee and Gen. Joseph Wheeler were assigned to important commands, and both they and their soldiers, whether from the South or the North, showed a heroic devotion to the flag of the Republic. The soldiers of the two sections fraternized completely, and over the grave of the past the grass grew green in the summer of 1898.

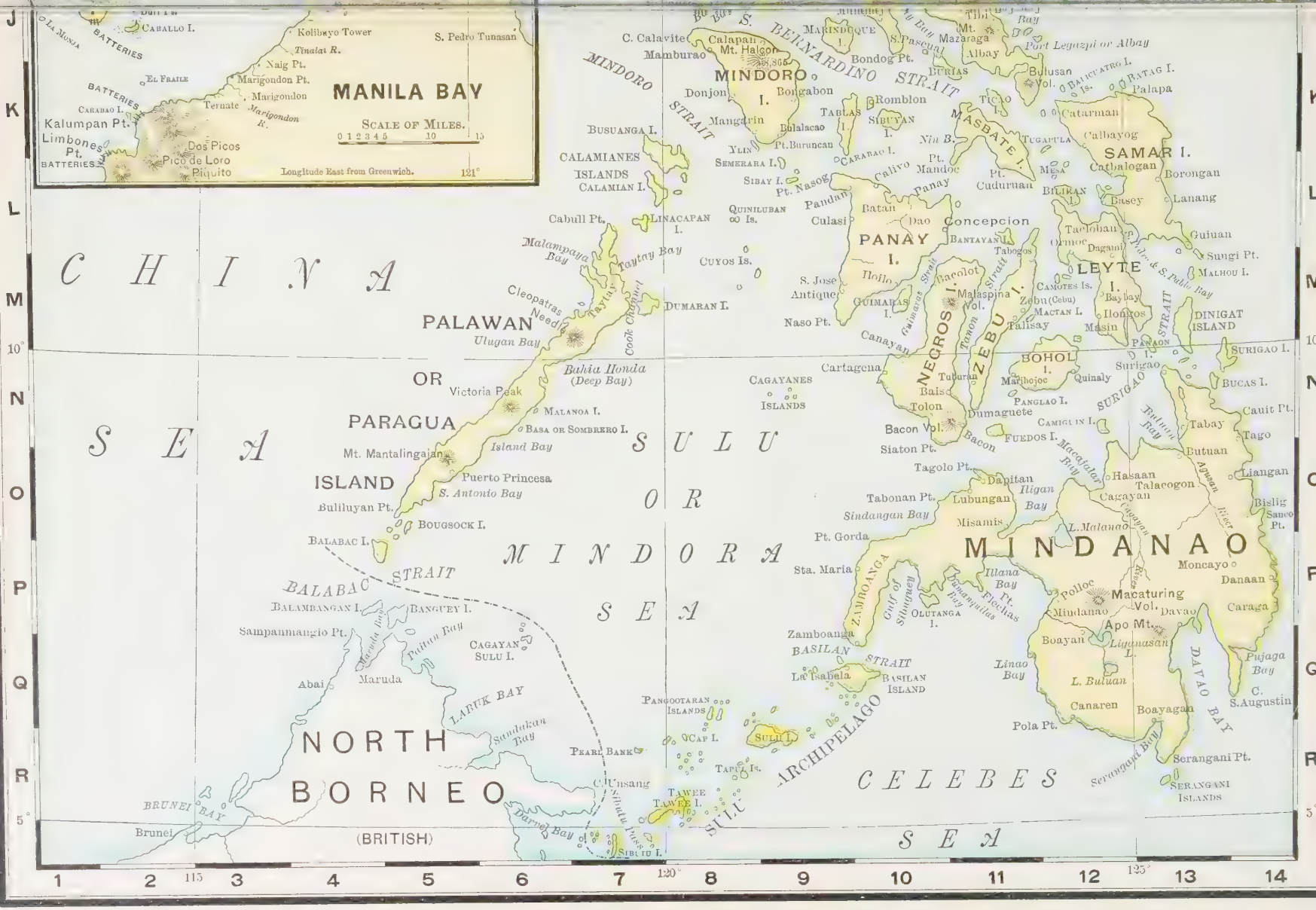
While the issue of the war, so far as the American arms was concerned, was highly auspicious, many things followed in the train well calculated to spread grief and anxiety among the people. It had been foreseen that the climate of the West Indies would severely try the constitution of the American soldiers. The war broke out at the beginning of the dangerous season — dangerous as to both the torrid heat and the malignant diseases which prevail in the tropics. From this source much more was to be apprehended than from the armies of the enemy.

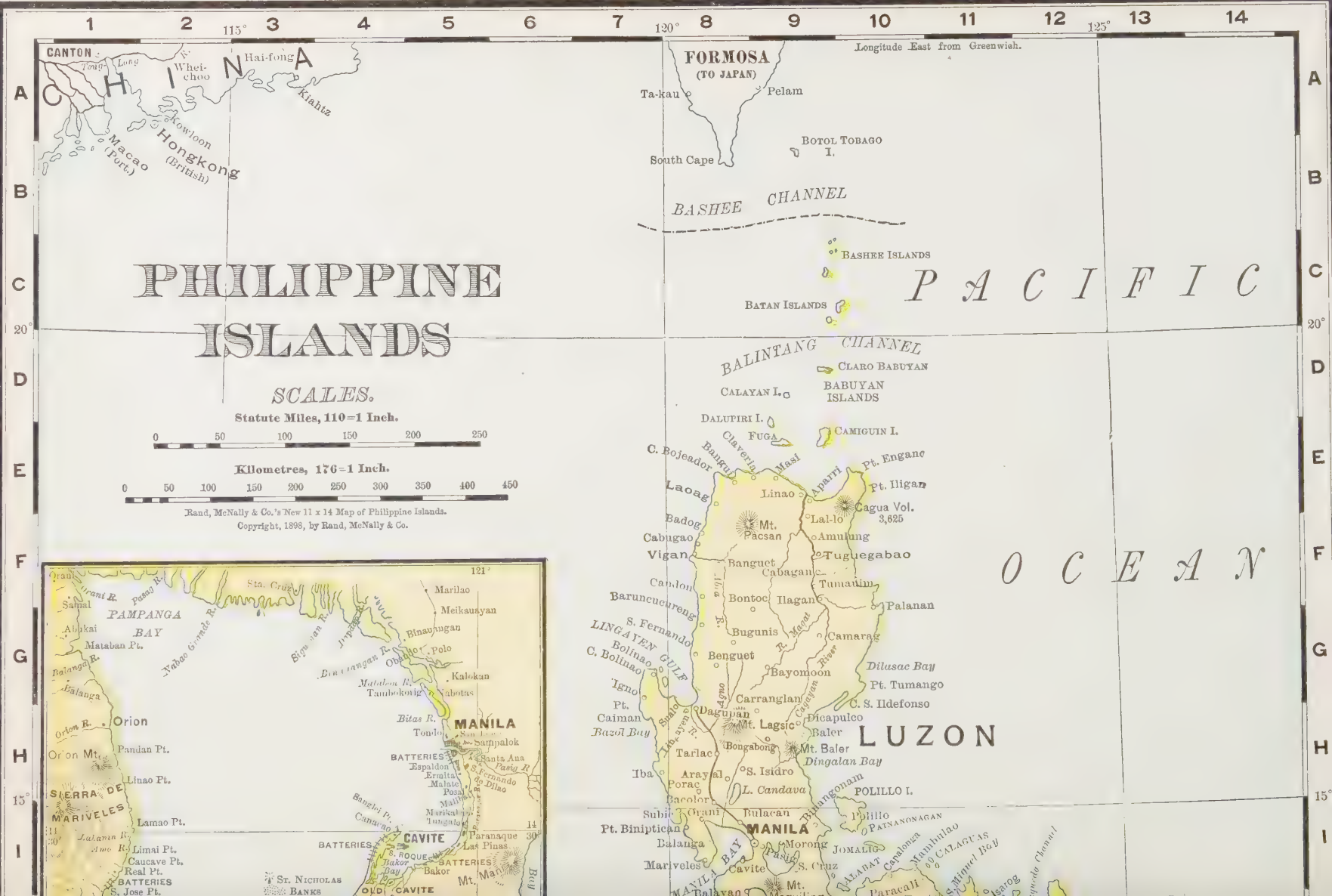
The event corresponded with the apprehension. No sooner had the American forces been debarked in Cuba than the fatal effects of climate and disease began to be felt in the invading camps. The season was less disastrous as to temperature than had been feared, and the diseases peculiar to the Cuban climate did not come in the most malignant form. Yellow fever appeared in only a sporadic manner. The worst affliction of the soldiers was typhoid fever and malarial affections of various kinds. Of such ailments a great many soldiers sickened, and many died. The losses from this source were far in excess of the losses from marching and battle.

The effects of the prevailing diseases were aggravated by the imperfect supply-system and inadequate medical and surgical service of the American army. It was soon known that the forces about Santiago were suffering greatly for provisions, medicines, and hospital accommodations. The percentage of the sick increased, and it was a fortunate circumstance that the fall of Santiago and the announcement of the protocol came at so early a period of the year. Provisions were soon made for the withdrawal of divisions of the army; as soon as the sick soldiers could be distributed in camps they were sent thereto, and in course of time a better system of medical service and of supply was instituted. The mustering out of the forces followed in the latter part of August, September and October, though a sufficient army was retained in Cuba and in the Philippines to make certain that no advantage should be taken by Spain pending the negotiations at Paris.

In that city the Commissioners of Peace began their work on the 1st of October. The American representatives had the advantage in all that ensued. Most of them — indeed all except Senator Gray — went to the Congress strongly predisposed to the policy of expansion, and to the conclusion of a treaty without much regard to the protests and arguments of the Spanish ambassadors. Meanwhile the whole force of the administration at Washington was turned to the policy of getting as much as possible out of the war. The sentiment grew in favor of holding the Philippines, and indeed everything else which had been, however temporarily, under control of the Americans during the conflict.

A very specious form of argument was invented at this time to the effect that everything which had been covered by the flag of the Republic should be retained — as though the flag and they who carried it could do no wrong! Against this sentiment there was among the American people nothing to oppose except morbidity and


MANILA BAY
SCALE OF MILES.
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15
Longitude East from Greenwich. 121°
Kolibayo Tower
Tinalac R.
S. Pedro Tunasan
Naig Pt.
Marigondon Pt.
Marigondon
Marigondon R.
Ternate
Dos Picos
Pico de Loro
Piquito
Limbones Pt.
Kalumpan Pt.
Caballo I.
El Fraile
Carabao I.
La Monja
BATTERIES
CHINA SEA
SULU SEA
MINDORO STRAIT
BERNARDINO STRAIT
MINDORO I.
Mamburao
C. Calavite
Calapan
Mt. Halcon
8,805
Marinduque I.
Bondog Pt.
Mt. Mazaraga
Albay
Port Legazpi or Albay
Bulusan Vol.
Palapa
Catarman
Calbayog
SAMAR I.
Catbalogan
Borongan
Lanang
Basey
Tacloban
Guiuan
Sungi Pt.
Malhou I.
DINIGAT ISLAND
SURIGAO I.
BUCAS I.
Cauit Pt.
Tago
Tabay
Butuan
Liangan
Bislig
Sanco Pt.
Danao
Caraga
Pujaga Bay
C. S. Augustin
Boayagan
Pola Pt.
Serangani Pt.
SERANGANI ISLANDS
CELEBES SEA
DATAO BAY
Pujada Bay
Linao Bay
L. Buluan
Apo Mt.
Davao
Mindanao
Macaturing Vol.
Polloc
Moncayo
Agusan River
Agusan
Cagayan River
Cagayan
L. Malanao
MINDANAO
Hasaan
Talacogon
Cagayan
Iligan Bay
Lubungan
Dapitan
Tagolo Pt.
Macajalar Bay
Bulanog Bay
Fuedos I.
Camiguin I.
Bacon Vol.
Bacon
Siaton Pt.
Dumaguete
Tolon
Panglao I.
Quinaly
Surigao
Tubigon
Marihojoc
BOHOL I.
Cartagena
Cagayanes Islands
Tabogon
Dagami
Ormoc
Leyte & S. Pablo Bay
LEYTE I.
Camotes Is.
Bay bay
Ilonitos
Masin
Panaon
Panaon Strait
Bantayan I.
Concepcion
Dao
Batan
Culasi
PANAY I.
Hollo
Antique
S. Jose
Guimaras
Guimaras Strait
Bacolot
Malaspina Vol.
Zebu (Cebu)
Mactan I.
Talisay
NEGROS I.
ZEBU I.
Tanon Strait
Naso Pt.
Canayan
Guimaras I.
Tayas
Tayas Bay
Malampaya Bay
Cleopatras Needle
Cook Channel
Cabull Pt.
Linacapan I.
Quiniluban Is.
Cuyos Is.
Dumaran I.
PALAWAN
Ulugan Bay
Bahia Honda (Deep Bay)
Victoria Peak
Malanoa I.
Basa or Sombrero I.
Island Bay
Mt. Mantalingajan
Puerto Princesa
S. Antonio Bay
Buliluyan Pt.
Bougsock I.
Balabac I.
BALABAC STRAIT
Balambangan I.
Banguey I.
Sampanmangio Pt.
Cagayan Sulu I.
Tandon Bay
Maruda Bay
Abai
Maruda
LABUK BAY
Sandakan Bay
NORTH BORNEO
BRUNEI BAY
Brunei
(BRITISH)
Darnei Bay
Sibuto I.
Sibutu Passage
Pangootaran Islands
Cap I.
Sulu I.
Pearl Bank
Tapul Is.
C. Unsang
Tawee
Tawee I.
SULU ARCHIPELAGO
Basilan Strait
Basilan Island
La Isabela
Zamboanga
Basilan
Sindangan Bay
Tabonan Pt.
Misamis
Pt. Gorda
Sta. Maria
Illana Bay
Pt. Flechas
Panamanquilas Bay
Olutanga I.
Gulf of Sibuguey
Zamboanga
Pt. Arena
Sibuguey Bay
Illana Bay
Polloc
Mindanao
Macaturing Vol.
Davao
Apo Mt.
Boayan
Liguanasan L.
Canaren
L. Buluan
Datao Bay
Pujada Bay
Linao Bay
Agusan River
Cagayan River
Cagayan
L. Malanao
Moncayo
Danaan
Caraga
Pola Pt.
Boayagan
Serangani Pt.
Serangani Bay
SERANGANI ISLANDS
C. S. Augustin
Pujada Bay
Linao Bay
L. Buluan
Apo Mt.
Davao
Mindanao
Macaturing Vol.
Polloc
Moncayo
Danaan
Caraga
Agusan River
Cagayan River
Cagayan
L. Malanao
MINDANAO
Hasaan
Talacogon
Cagayan
Iligan Bay
Lubungan
Dapitan
Tagolo Pt.
Macajalar Bay
Bulanog Bay
Fuedos I.
Camiguin I.
Bacon Vol.
Bacon
Siaton Pt.
Dumaguete
Tolon
Panglao I.
Quinaly
Surigao
Tubigon
Marihojoc
BOHOL I.
Cartagena
Cagayanes Islands
Tabogon
Dagami
Ormoc
Leyte & S. Pablo Bay
LEYTE I.
Camotes Is.
Bay bay
Ilonitos
Masin
Panaon
Panaon Strait
Bantayan I.
Concepcion
Dao
Batan
Culasi
PANAY I.
Hollo
Antique
S. Jose
Guimaras
Guimaras Strait
Bacolot
Malaspina Vol.
Zebu (Cebu)
Mactan I.
Talisay
NEGROS I.
ZEBU I.
Tanon Strait
Naso Pt.
Canayan
Guimaras I.
Tayas
Tayas Bay
Malampaya Bay
Cleopatras Needle
Cook Channel
Cabull Pt.
Linacapan I.
Quiniluban Is.
Cuyos Is.
Dumaran I.
PALAWAN
Ulugan Bay
Bahia Honda (Deep Bay)
Victoria Peak
Malanoa I.
Basa or Sombrero I.
Island Bay
Mt. Mantalingajan
Puerto Princesa
S. Antonio Bay
Buliluyan Pt.
Bougsock I.
Balabac I.
BALABAC STRAIT
Balambangan I.
Banguey I.
Sampanmangio Pt.
Cagayan Sulu I.
Tandon Bay
Maruda Bay
Abai
Maruda
LABUK BAY
Sandakan Bay
NORTH BORNEO
BRUNEI BAY
Brunei
(BRITISH)
Darnei Bay
Sibuto I.
Sibutu Passage
Pangootaran Islands
Cap I.
Sulu I.
Pearl Bank
Tapul Is.
C. Unsang
Tawee
Tawee I.
SULU ARCHIPELAGO
Basilan Strait
Basilan Island
La Isabela
Zamboanga
Basilan
Sindangan Bay
Tabonan Pt.
Misamis
Pt. Gorda
Sta. Maria
Illana Bay
Pt. Flechas
Panamanquilas Bay
Olutanga I.
Gulf of Sibuguey
Zamboanga
Pt. Arena
Sibuguey Bay


PHILIPPINE ISLANDS
SCALES.
Statute Miles, 110=1 Inch.
0 50 100 150 200 250
Kilometres, 176=1 Inch.
0 50 100 150 200 250 300 350 400 450
Rand, McNally & Co.'s New 11 x 14 Map of Philippine Islands.
Copyright, 1898, by Rand, McNally & Co.
Longitude East from Greenwich.
CANTON
CHINA
Hai-fong
Wheichoo
Kiahtz
Kowloon
Hongkong (British)
Macao (Port.)
FORMOSA (TO JAPAN)
Ta-kau
Pelam
South Cape
BOTOL TOBAGO I.
BASHEE CHANNEL
BASHEE ISLANDS
BATAN ISLANDS
PACIFIC OCEAN
BALINTANG CHANNEL
CLARO BABUYAN
BABUYAN ISLANDS
CALAYAN I.
DALUPIRI I.
FUGA
CAMIGUIN I.
C. Bojeador
Claveria
Masi
Pt. Engano
Laoag
Linao
Aparri
Pt. Iligan
Cagua Vol. 3,625
Badog
Mt. Pacsan
Lal-lo
Cabugao
Amulung
Vigan
Tuguegabao
Banguet
Cabagan
Candon
Tumauini
Baruncucureng
Bontoc
Ilagan
Palanan
S. Fernando
LINGAYEN GULF
Bugunis
Camarag
C. Bolinao
Benguet
Bayomoon
Dilasac Bay
Pt. Tumango
Igno
Carranglan
C. S. Ildefonso
Pt. Caiman
Dagupan
Mt. Lagsic
Dicapulco
Bazol Bay
Tarlac
Bongabong
Mt. Baler
Baler
LUZON
Dingalan Bay
Iba
Araya
S. Isidro
L. Candava
Porac
Bacolor
POLILLO I.
Subic
Orani
Bulacan
Pt. Biniptican
MANILA
Balanga
Morong
Marivales
Cavite
S. Cruz
Paracali
Mt.
Sta. Cruz
Marilao
Meikausyan
Binaujungan
Polo
Kalokan
Tambobong
Tabotas
Orion
Pandan Pt.
Orion Mt.
Linao Pt.
SIERRA DE MARIVELES
Lamao Pt.
Limai Pt.
Caucave Pt.
Real Pt.
BATTERIES
S. Jose Pt.
Mariveles
Lamao R.
Ame R.
Pampanga R.
Sasmal
PAMPANGA BAY
Abukai
Mataban Pt.
Balanga R.
Balanga
Orion R.
Pasig R.
Malabon R.
Bitas R.
Tondo
MANILA
Sampalok
Santa Ana
Espaldon
Ermita
Malate
Posal
Marikina R.
Tunguko
Pasig R.
S. Fernando de Dilao
Bangkol Pt.
Canumay
BATTERIES
CAVITE
Paranaque
Las Pinas
S. ROQUE
BATTERIES
Bakor
Bakor Bay
OLD CAVITE
Mt.
St. Nicholas Banks
Bay
Pt.
Dilasac River
Agno River
Agno
Shalo
Ibayen R.
Canayan
Bilangonan
POLILLO I.
PATNANONGAN
JOMALIG
CALABAT
Canalonga
Mahubitlao
CALAGUAS
Miguel Bay
Isarog
Lagonoy Channel

moral cowardice. It was in vain to point out the fact that when the protocol of peace was signed not one foot of the Philippine territory was under the American flag. It was only *after* the protocol was proclaimed that Commodore Dewey made his successful onset on Manila. By this means the flag was indeed raised over that city, and an excuse was thus contrived, not only for holding the harbor and city of Manila, not only for taking possession of the island of Luzon, but for the conquest of the whole Philippine archipelago.

The American representatives at Paris were borne on by the tide, and the Spanish representatives were forced back under the pressure. The United States had all the while the powerful backing of England. Any favor which Spain might receive from France had meanwhile turned the other way; for the French holders of the Spanish bonds now saw a hope of payment in the conclusion of peace. They who hold the war debts of the world have one prevailing motive of conduct which rises above all national and international considerations and rests wholly in the hope of securing their bonds and perpetuating them as an interest-bearing fund.

It became evident before the result of the negotiations was announced that the largest advantages (even though they might be disadvantages) would be taken by the Americans as the fruits of victory. As to Porto Rico, that island had already been conceded by Spain to the United States at the conclusion of hostilities. As to Cuba, it had been agreed that the Spanish authority should be abrogated, the Spanish forces withdrawn, and independence secured to the people of the island. And herein lay a serious complication, for it had now been discovered that the Cuban Republic, in behalf of which the war had been virtually undertaken, was an insubstantial fact, and that the Cuban army was rather an obstacle than an auxiliary. Still, the declarations of policy regarding Cuba were so distinct that controversy relative to the island could hardly break out at the Paris conference.

The same might be said of the Island of Guam, that point of the Ladrones or Marianas which had been conceded to our Republic at the time of the protocol. But as to the Philippines everything was controversial. The Spanish representatives stoutly resisted the aggressive policy of the Americans which soon hesitated not to claim the whole archipelago, and to shape the contention so that there could be no receding. Along this line, the members of the conference debated, adjourned, re-assembled, modified unimportant details, but fixed their views more and more until, on the 18th day of De-

cember, a result was finally reached in the form of a treaty to be submitted for approval to the treaty-making powers of Spain and the United States.

Near the close of the year 1898 this treaty of Paris was transmitted to the governments of the respective nations. On the main point the agreements reached included the cession of the whole Philippine group to the United States, and the payment by the latter to Spain of $20,000,000. This sum was claimed by the Spanish representatives and was allowed by the American representatives on the score of the ousting of Spain from her forts, government buildings and other material improvements in the Philippines, rather than as money paid for the islands themselves. These were claimed by the United States on the score of conquest and indemnity and also on the ground that it had become the duty of our government to secure for the Philippine Islands such civil and political institutions as might enable them to obtain and enjoy all the liberties to which mankind is entitled.

A population of fully 8,000,000 semi-barbarians and savages were thus transferred to the sovereignty of the United States with the consequent necessity of establishing over them some kind of a colonial government such as that employed by Great Britain in the control and management of her insular and other foreign possessions. The full text of the treaty agreed to and signed by the Commissioners of the United States and Spain may not be profitably repeated; only the leading articles, with a summary of the less important parts are here inserted as the logical conclusion of the story of the Spanish-American War.

ARTICLE I. — Spain renounces all right of sovereignty over Cuba. Whereas said isle when evacuated by Spain is to be occupied by the United States, the United States, while the occupation continues, shall take upon themselves and fulfil the obligations which, by the fact of occupation, international law imposes on them for the protection of life and property.

ARTICLE II. — Spain cedes to the United States the Island of Porto Rico and the other islands now under her sovereignty in the West Indies and the Isle of Guam in the archipelago of the Marianas or Ladrones.

ARTICLE III. — Spain cedes to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands, which comprises the islands situated between the following lines:

(The remainder of the Article defines at length the ocean boundaries which enclose all of the islands of the Philippine archipelago.)

ARTICLE IV. — The United States shall, during the term of ten years, counting from the interchange of the ratifications of the treaty, admit to the ports of the Philippine Islands Spanish ships and merchandise under the same conditions as the ships and merchandise of the United States.

ATLANTIC
CARIBBEAN
AGUADILLA
AGUADA
ARECIBO
MAYAGUEZ
PONCE
Punta de la Isabela
Punta del Manglillo
Punta de Arecibo
Punta de Caracoles
Punta de Labadero
Punta de la Boquilla
Punta del Bramadero
Punta de palo Seco
Punta Isabel de Cabras
Punta de la Arena
Punta de la Brea
Punta de Guanica
Punta de Ponce
Entrada de Joyuada
Ensenada de Boquerones
Puerto Real de Cabo rojo
Laguna de Guanica
Cabo Rojo
S. German
Sabana Grande
Yauco
Guayanilla
Penuelas
Juana Diaz
Coamo
Aibonito
Barranquitas
Comerio
Naranjito
Corozal
Toa Alta
Toa Baja
Bayamon
Guaynabo
Rio Piedras
Caguas
Gurabo
Juncos
Las Piedras
Humacao
Naguabo
Fajardo
Luquillo
Rio Grande
Loiza
Canovanas
Carolina
Trujillo Alto
Aguas Buenas
Cidra
Aguada
Aguadilla
Isabela
Quebradillas
Camuy
Hatillo
Lares
Utuado
Adjuntas
Jayuya
Ciales
Manati
Vega Baja
Vega Alta
Dorado
Morovis
Florida
Barceloneta
Arecibo
Hatillo
Camuy
Quebradillas
Isabela
Aguada
Aguadilla
Rincon
Anasco
Mayaguez
Las Marias
Maricao
Hormigueros
Cabo Rojo
Lajas
Guanica
Yauco
Guayanilla
Penuelas
Ponce
Juana Diaz
Coamo
Aibonito
Barranquitas
Comerio
Naranjito
Corozal
Toa Alta
Toa Baja
Bayamon
Guaynabo
Rio Piedras
Caguas
Gurabo
Juncos
Las Piedras
Humacao
Naguabo
Fajardo
Luquillo
Rio Grande
Loiza
Canovanas
Carolina
Trujillo Alto
Aguas Buenas
Cidra
EXPLANATION.
Railroads
Main Roads
Cart Roads
Pt. Salinas
CABRAS ISLAND
(Two large Hospitals on this Island)
Fort Canuelo
Palo Seco Pt.
SAN JUAN
(Puerto Rico Island)
Scale of Statute Miles.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PORTO RICO
SAN JUAN
CATANO
Bayamon Road
San Fernando Road
Cangrejos
Pt. Maria
Miraflores Cut
Fort San Antonio Bridge
Fort Conde
Fort Morro
Fort San Geronimo
Fort Escambron Pt.
Powder Magazine
Barracks
Governor's Castle
Barrio de la Marina
La Puntilla
Meta Battery
Grand Island
Magazine
Catano Pt.
Catano Inlet
Powder Magazine
Guard House
Pueblo Viejo Bay
Martin Pena Inlet
Puerto Nuevo R.
Sta. Jose
Pt.

Longitude West from Greenwich.
7
8
66°
9
10
11
65° 30'
OCEAN
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
18° 30'
18°
17° 30'
SAN JUAN
BAYAMON
TOA ALTA
TOABAJA
CAROLINA
TRUJILLO ALTO
RIO GRANDE
LUQUILLO
FAJARDO
NARANJITO
COROZAL
GUAYNABO
AGUAS BUENAS
CAGUAS
GUANABO
HUMACAO
NAGUABO
CEIBA
PUNTA DE LA LUNA
ISLA PUERCA
ISLA DE VIEQUES
PUNTA HICACOS
PUNTA DE QUEB A' HONDA
PUNTA DE LA TUNA
CABO DE MALAPASCUA
PUNTA ORIENTAL
LAS SALINAS
ISABEL SEGUNDA
PUNTA MOSQUITO
MOSQUITO
EL CHINCHORRO O' DESCUBRIDOR
EL CABALLO BLANCO
PIRAGUA DEL E.
ALCARRAZA
CAYO N. E. O' CULEBRILLA
ISLA CULEBRA
ISLA CULEBRITA O' PASSAGECHICO
CAYO S. O.
Ensenada Honda
CAYO SANTIAGO
PUNTA DE ARENAS
ISLA DE VIEQUES
PUNTA OCCIDENTAL
PUNTO S. O.
GUAYAMA
ARROYO
PATILLAS
MANATI
CAMUY
ARECIBO
AGUADILLA
AGUADA
MAYAGUEZ
ANASCO
AGUADILLA
ISLAS DESECHEO
ISLA PALOMINOS
ARRECIFES DE LA CORDILLERA
CABEZAS DE S. JUAN
Punta Diego
Punta marunguey
Ensenada Honda
Punta Salinas
Ensenada Sardinera
El Boqueron
Embarcadero de las canoas
Torrecillas
Los embarcaderos
Punta Puerto Real
Punta Boca de la Quebrada
Punta Puerto Mosquito
Punta Puerto Ferro
Punta Arenas
Punta Occidental
Punta S. O.
Puerto Algarrobo
Puerto de Jobos
Punta Yoxuclo
Punta de las Piedras
Puerto de Cabellos Colorados
EL CUCHILLO DE PUERTO FERRO
ISLA DE VIEQUES
CARIBBEAN SEA
ISLANDS EAST OF PUERTO RICO
On Same Scale as Main Map.
PUERTO RICO
SCALES.
Statute Miles, 9.5 = 1 Inch.
5 10 15 20
Kilometres, 13.5 = 1 Inch.
5 10 15 20 25
McNally & Co.'s 11x14 New Map of Puerto Rico.
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The fifth Article made it incumbent on the United States to transport to Spain all the Spanish prisoners of war; to concede to the captured soldiers their arms; to enjoin on Spain the evacuation of the Philippines and the Isle of Guam; to grant to Spain the retention of such of her flags and standards and arms as had not been taken in actual battle, except the heavy ordnance of permanent fortifications.

The sixth Article required that Spain should set at liberty all prisoners, political and military, in Cuba and the Philippines, and that the United States should likewise liberate all persons who had been taken and imprisoned during the war.

ARTICLE VII. — Spain and the United States mutually renounce by the present treaty all claim to national or private indemnity, of whatever kind, of one Government against the other, or of their subjects or citizens against the other Government, which may have arisen from the beginning of the last insurrection in Cuba, anterior to the interchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, as also to all indemnity as regards costs occasioned by the war. The United States shall judge and settle the claims of its citizens against Spain, which she renounces in this article.

ARTICLE VIII. — In fulfilment of Articles I, II and III of this treaty Spain renounces in Cuba and cedes in Porto Rico and the other West Indian isles, in Guam and the Philippine archipelago, all buildings, moles, barracks, fortresses, establishments, public roads and other real property which by custom or right are of the public domain, and as such belong to the crown of Spain. Nevertheless, it is declared that this renouncement or cession, as the case may be, referred to in the previous paragraph, in no way lessens the property or rights which belong by custom of law to the peaceful possessor of goods of all kinds in the provinces and cites, public or private establishments, civil or ecclesiastical corporations or whatever bodies have judicial personality to acquire and possess goods in the above-mentioned renounced or ceded territories, and those of private individuals, whatever be their nationality.

In the ninth Article it was provided that all Spanish subjects, native or domiciled, in the ceded territories should have the right of passing under the future sovereignty of the places in which they dwelt, or of freely returning to Spain. In doing so all rights of property should be strictly observed.

ARTICLE X. — The inhabitants of the territories whose sovereignty Spain renounces or cedes shall have assured to them the free exercise of their religion.

ARTICLE XI. — Spaniards residing in the territories whose sovereignty Spain cedes or renounces shall be subject in civil and criminal matters to the tribunals of the country in which they reside, conformably with the common laws which regulate their competence, being enabled to appear before them in the same manner and to employ the same proceedings as the citizens of the country to which the tribunal belongs must observe.

In Article XII the forms of judicial proceedings in the countries affected by the war were defined. The manner of carrying sentences into effect and the forms of criminal prosecutions were ascertained and declared.

ARTICLE XIII. — Literary, artistic and industrial rights of property acquired by Spaniards in Cuba, Porto Rico, the Philippines and other territories ceded on the interchange of ratifications of this treaty shall continue to be respected. Spanish scientific, literary or artistic works which shall not be dangerous to public order in said territories shall continue entering therein with freedom from all customs duties for a period of ten years dating from the interchange of the ratifications of this treaty.

ARTICLE XIV. — Spain may establish consular agents in the ports and places of the territories whose renunciation or cession is the object of this treaty.

ARTICLE XV. — The Government of either country shall concede for a term of ten years to the merchant ships of the other the same treatment as regards all port dues, including those of entry and departure, lighthouse and tonnage dues, as it concedes to its own merchant ships not employed in the coasting trade. This article may be repudiated at any time by either Government giving previous notice thereof six months beforehand.

ARTICLE XVI. — Be it understood that whatever obligation is accepted under this treaty by the United States with respect to Cuba is limited to the period their occupation of the island shall continue, but at the end of said occupation they will advise the Government that may be established in the island that it should accept the same obligations.

ARTICLE XVII. — The present treaty shall be ratified by the Queen Regent of Spain and the President of the United States, in agreement and with the approval of the Senate, and ratifications shall be exchanged in Washington within a period of six months from this date or earlier if possible.

The acceptance of the treaty by the Spanish Government was a foregone conclusion, but the issue in the United States was doubtful. For several weeks the ratification of the terms by the Senate was delayed. Much had to be said for and against. There was strong and logical opposition to the treaty on the ground that it was a departure from all American precedents, and a plunge into the unknown. The opposition was not limited to any political party, for several leaders of all three parties represented in the Senate strenuously opposed the treaty, and voted against it. The requisite two-thirds, however, were finally obtained, but not until the sudden outbreak of war in the Philippines, and the fighting of a severe battle between the forces of Aguinaldo and the American army under General Otis, with the result of victory to the latter, had created another wave of doubtful enthusiasm and furnished an excuse for a change of attitude on the part of several Senators. The vote in favor of ratification was taken on the 6th of February, 1899, and the treaty was signed by the President four days afterwards.

The History of our Country has thus been recited from its discovery by the adventurers at the close of the fifteenth century down to the year 1899. The STORY OF THE REPUBLIC is complete. The four centuries of time through which we have passed since the unveiling of the continent have brought us the experience of the ages, and, let us hope, the wisdom and virtues of the greatest nations of the

earth. Our Nation has passed through stormy times, but has come at last in full splendor and with uplifted banners, to the closing years of the nineteenth century. As a united nation, we are already well advanced into the second era of our existence. Peace and tranquility are abroad. Clouds of distrust and war have sunk behind the horizon. Here, at least, the equality of all men in rights and privileges before the law has been written with an iron pen in the constitution of our country. The Union of the States has been consecrated anew within our memories by the blood of patriots and the tears of the lowly. Best of all, the temple of Freedom reared by our patriot Fathers still stands in undiminished glory. THE PAST HAS TAUGHT ITS LESSON, THE PRESENT HAS ITS DUTY, AND THE FUTURE ITS HOPE.

CHAPTER LXXIV.

CONCLUSION.

WHAT, then, of the outlook for the American Republic? What shall another century bring forth? What is to be the destiny of this vigorous, aggressive, self-governing Anglo-American race? How will the picture, so well begun, be completed by the annalists of posterity? Is it the sad fate of humanity, after all its struggles, toils, and sighings, to turn forever round and round in the same beaten circle, climbing the long ascent from the degradation of savage life to the heights of national renown only to descend again into the fenlands of despair? Is Lord Byron's gloomy picture of the rise and fall of nations indeed a true portrayal of the order of the world?—

> Here is the moral of all human tales,—
> 'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past,
> First freedom and then glory — when that fails,
> Wealth, vice, corruption, barbarism at last;
> And History with all her volumes vast
> Hath but *one* page!

Or has the human race, breaking the bonds of its servitude and escaping at last from its long imprisonment, struck out across the fields of sublime possibility the promised pathway leading to the final triumph? There are still doubts and fears — perplexities, anxieties, and sometimes anguish — arising in the soul of the philanthropist as he turns his gaze to the future. But there are hopes also, grounds of confidence, auspicious omens, tokens of the substantial victory of truth, inspirations of faith welling up in the heart of the watcher as he scans the dappled horizon of the coming day.

As to present achievement the American people have far surpassed the expectations of the fathers. The visions and dreams of the Revolutionary patriots have been eclipsed by the luster of actual accomplishment. The territorial domains of the Republic enclose the grandest belt of forest, valley, and plain that the world has in it. Since the beginning of time no other people have possessed such a territory — so rich in resources, so varied in products, so magnificent in physical aspect. Soil and climate, the distribution of woods and

lakes and rivers, the interposition of mountain ranges, and the fertility of valley and prairie, here contribute to give to man a many-sided and powerful development. Here he finds bays for his shipping, rivers for his steamers, fields for his plow, iron for his forge, gold for his cupidity, landscapes for his pencil, sunshine enough for song, and snow enough for courage. Nor has the Anglo-American failed to profit by the advantages of his surroundings. He has planted a free government on the largest and most liberal scale known in history. He has espoused the cause of liberty and right. He has fought like a hero for the freedom and equality of all men. He has projected a civilization which, though as yet but dimly traced in outline, is the vastest and grandest in the world. Better than all, he believes in the times to come. So long as man is anxious about the future the future is secure. Only when he falls into apathy, sleeps at his post, and cares no longer for the morrow, is the world in danger of relapse and barbarism.

To the thoughtful student of history several things seem necessary to the perpetuity and complete success of American institutions. The first of these is the prevalence of THE IDEA OF NATIONAL UNITY. Of this spake Washington in his Farewell Address, warning his countrymen in solemn words to preserve and defend that government which constituted them *one people*. Of this wrote Hamilton and Adams. For this pleaded Webster in his great orations. Upon this the far-seeing statesmen of the present day, rising above the strifes of party and the turmoils of war, plant themselves as the one thing vital in American politics. The idea that *the United States are one Nation*, and not thirty-eight nations, is the grand cardinal doctrine of a sound political faith. State pride and sectional attachment are natural passions in the human breast, and are so near akin to patriotism as to be distinguished from it only in the court of a higher reason. But there is a nobler love of country — a patriotism that rises above all places and sections, that knows no County, no State, no North, no South, but only native land; that claims no mountain slope; that clings to no river bank; that worships no range of hills; but lifts the aspiring eye to a continent redeemed from barbarism by common sacrifices and made sacred by the shedding of kindred blood. Such a patriotism is the cable and sheet-anchor of our hope.

A second requisite for the preservation of American institutions is THE UNIVERSAL SECULAR EDUCATION OF THE PEOPLE. Monarchies govern their subjects by authority and precedent; republics by right reason and free will. Whether one method or the other will be better,

turns wholly upon the intelligence of the governed. If the subject have not the knowledge and discipline necessary to govern himself, it is better that a king, in whom some skill in the science of government is presupposed, should rule him. As between two stupendous evils, the rational tyranny of the intelligent few is preferable to the furious and irrational tyranny of the ignorant many. No force which has moved among men, impelling to bad action, inspiring to crime, overturning order, tearing away the bulwarks of liberty and right, and converting civilization into a waste, has been so full of evil and so powerful to destroy as a blind, ignorant, and factious democracy. A republic without intelligence — even a high degree of intelligence — is a paradox and an impossibility. What means that principle of the Declaration of Independence which declares the consent of the governed to be the true foundation of all just authority? What kind of "consent" is referred to? Manifestly not the passive and unresisting acquiescence of the mind which, like the potter's clay, receives whatever is impressed upon it; but that active, thinking, resolute, conscious, personal consent which distinguishes the true freeman from the puppet. When the people of the United States rise to the heights of this noble and intelligent self-assertion, the occupation of the party leader — most despicable of all the tyrants — will be gone forever; and in order that the people may ascend to that high plane, the means by which intelligence is fostered, right reason exalted, and a calm and rational public opinion produced, must be universally secured. The public FREE SCHOOL is the fountain whose streams shall make glad all the lands of liberty. We must educate or perish.

A third thing necessary to the perpetuity of American liberties is TOLERATION — toleration in the broadest and most glorious sense. In the colonial times intolerance embittered the lives of our fathers. Until the present day the baleful shadow has been upon the land. The proscriptive vices of the Middle Age have flowed down with the blood of the race and tainted the life that now is, with a suspicion and distrust of freedom. Liberty in the minds of men has meant the privilege of agreeing with the majority. Men have desired free thought, but fear has stood at the door. It remains for the United States to build a highway, broad and free, into every field of liberal inquiry, and to make the poorest of men who walks therein, more secure in life and reputation than the soldier who sleeps behind the rampart. Proscription has no part nor lot in the American system. The stake, the gibbet, and the rack, thumb-screws, sword, and pillory, have no place on this side of the sea. Nature is diversified; so are human faculties,

beliefs, and practices. Essential freedom is the right *to differ;* and that right must be sacredly respected. Nor must the privilege of dissent be conceded with coldness and disdain, but openly, cordially, and with good will. No loss of rank, abatement of character, or ostracism from society must darken the pathway of the humblest of the seekers after truth. The right of free thought, free inquiry, and free speech, is as clear as the noonday and bounteous as the air and ocean. Without a full and cheerful recognition of this right, America is only a name, her glory a dream, her institutions a mockery.

The fourth idea, essential to the welfare and stability of the Republic, is THE NOBILITY OF LABOR. It is the mission of the United States to ennoble toil and honor the toiler. In other lands to labor has been considered the lot of serfs and peasants; to gather the fruits and consume them in luxury and war, the business of the great. Since the medieval times European society has been organized on the basis of a *nobility* and a *people.* To be a nobleman was to be distinguished from the people; to be one of the people was to be forever debarred from nobility. Thus has been set on human industry the stigma of perpetual disgrace. Something of this has been transmitted to the new civilization in the West — a certain disposition to renew the old order of lord and laborer. Let the odious distinction perish: the true lord is the laborer and the true laborer the lord. It is the genius of American institutions, in the fullness of time, to wipe the last opprobrious stain from the brow of toil and to crown the toiler with the dignity, luster, and honor of a full and perfect manhood.

The scroll of the century is rolled together. The work is done. Peace to the memory of the fathers! Green be the graves where sleep the warriors, patriots, and sages! Calm be the resting-place of all the brave and true! Gentle be the summer rains on famous fields where armies met in battle! Forgotten be the animosities and heart-burnings of the strife! Sacred be the trusts committed to our care, and bright the visions of the coming ages!

APPENDIX A.

SIR JOHN MANDEVILLE'S ARGUMENT ON THE FIGURE OF THE EARTH.

[Since the paragraph in the text has been the subject of some doubts and criticism, the original of Sir John Mandeville's argument is here appended. The orthography and phraseology are not more quaint than the logic is invincible. In order that the argument may be more easily followed and clearly understood, a translation or paraphrase, is added. It must not be forgotten that the date of Sir John's book is 1356—a hundred and thirty-six years before the discovery of America by Columbus.—THE AUTHOR.]

In that Lond, ne in many othere bezonde that, no man may see the Sterre transmontane, that is clept the Sterre of the See, that is unmevable, and that is toward the Northe, that we clepen the Lode Sterre. But men seen another Sterre, the contrarie to him, that is toward the Southe, that is clept Antartyk. And right as the Schip men taken here Avys here, and governe hem be the Lode Sterre, right so don Schip men bezonde the parties, be the Sterre of the Southe, the whiche Sterre apperethe not to us. And this Sterre, that is toward the Northe, that wee clepen the Lode Sterre, ne apperethe not to hem. For whiche cause, men may wel perceyve, that the Lond and the See ben of rownde schapp and forme. For the partie of the Firmament schewethe in o Contree, that schewethe not in another Contree. And men may well preven be experience and sotyle compassement of Wytt, that zif a man fond passages be Schippes, that wolde go to serchen the World, men myghte go be Schippe alle aboute the World, and aboven and benethen. The whiche thing I prove thus, aftre that I have seyn. For I have ben toward the parties of Braban, and beho'den the Astrolabre,* that the Sterre that is clept the Transmontayne, is 53 Degrees highe. And more forthere in Almayne and Bewme, it hathe 58 Degrees. And more forthe toward the parties septemtrioneles, it is 62 Degrees of heghte, and certeyn Mynutes. For I my self have mesured it by the Astrolabre. Now schulle ze knowe, that azen the Transmontayne, is the tother Sterre, that is clept Antartyke; as I have seyd before. And tho 2 Sterres ne meeven nevere. And be hem turnethe alle the Firmament, righte as dothe a Wheel, that turnethe be his Axille Tree: so that tho Sterres beren the Firmament in 2 egalle parties; so that it hathe als mochel aboven, as it hathe benethen. Aftre this, I have gon toward the parties meridionales, that is toward the Southe: and I have founden, that in Lybye, men seen first the Sterre Antartyk. And so fer I have gon more forthe in tho Contrees, that I have founde that Sterre more highe; so that toward the highe Lybye, it is 18 Degrees of heghte, and certeyn Minutes (of the whiche, 60 Minutes maken a Degree). Aftre goynge be See and be Londe, toward this Contree, of that I have spoke, and to other Yles and Londes bezonde that Contree, I have founden the Sterre Antartyk of 33 Degrees of heghte, and mo mynutes. And zif I hadde had Companye and Schippynge, for to go more bezonde, I trowe wel in certeyn, that wee scholde have seen alle the

*In Mandeville's time, Astronomers had attained but very little accuracy in taking observations.

roundnesse of the Firmament alle aboute. * * * * * * Be the whiche I seye zou certeynly, that men may envirowne alle the Erthe of alle the World, as wel undre as aboven, and turnen azen to his Contree, that hadde Companye and Schippynge and Conduyt: and alle weyes he scholde fynde Men, Londes, and Yles, als wel as in this Contree. For zee wyten welle, that thei that ben toward the Antartyk, thei ben streghte, feet azen feet of hem, that dwellen undre transmontane; als wel as wee and thei that dwellyn under us, ben feet azenst feet. For alle the parties of See and of Lond han here appositees, habitables or trepassables, and thei of this half and bezond half. * * * * * * And whan men gon bezonde tho iourneyes, toward Ynde and to the foreyn Yles, alle is envyronynge the roundnesse of the Erthe and of the See, undre oure Contrees on this half. And therfore hathe it befallen many tymes of o thing, that I have herd cownted, whan I was zong; how a worthi man departed somtyme from oure Contrees, for to go serche the World. And so he passed Ynde, and the Yles bezonde Ynde, where ben mo than 5000 Yles: and so longe he wente be See and Lond, and so enviround the World be many seysons, that he fond an Yle, where he herde speke his owne Langage, callynge on Oxen in the Plowghe, suche Wordes as men speken to Bestes in his owne Contree: whereof he hadde gret Mervayle: for he knewe not how it myghte be. But I seye, that he had gon so longe, be Londe and be See, that he had envyround alle the erthe, that he was comen azen envirounynge, that is to seye, goynge aboute, unto his owne Marches, zif he wolde have passed forthe, til he had founden his Contree and his owne knouleche. But he turned azen from thens, from whens he was come fro; and so he loste moche peynefulle labour, as him self seyde, a gret while aftre, that he was comen hom. For it befelle aftre, that he wente in to Norweye; and there Tempest of the See toke him; and he arryved in an Yle; and whan he was in that Yle, he knew wel, that it was the Yle, where he had herd speke his owne Langage before, and the callynge of the Oxen at the Plowghe: and that was possible thinge. But how it semethe to symple men unlerned, that men ne mowe not go undre the Erthe, and also that men scholde falle toward the Hevene, from undre! But that may not be, upon lesse, than wee mowe falle toward Hevene, fro the Erthe, where wee ben. For fro what partie of the Erthe, that men duelle, outher aboven or benethen, it semethe alweys to hem that duellen, that thei gon more righte than ony other folk. And righte as it semethe to us, that thei ben undre us, righte so it semethe hem, that wee ben undre hem. For zif a man myghte falle fro the Erthe unto the Firmament; be grettere resoun, the Erthe and the See, that ben so grete and so hevy, scholde fallen to the Firmament: but that may not be. * * * And alle be it that it be possible thing, that men may so envyronne alle the World, natheles of a 1000 persones, on ne myghte not happen to returnen in to his Contree. For, for the gretnesse of the Erthe and of the See, men may go be a 1000 and a 1000 other weyes, that no man cowde redye him perfitely toward the parties that he cam fro, but zif it were be aventure and happ, or be the grace of God. For the Erthe is fulle large and fulle gret, and holt in roundnesse and aboute envyroun, be aboven and be benethen 20425 Myles, aftre the opynyoun of the olde wise Astronomeres. And here Seyenges I repreve noughte. But aftre my lytylle wytt, it semethe me, savynge here reverence, that it is more. And for to have bettere understondynge, I seye thus, Be ther ymagyned a Figure that hathe a gret Compas; and aboute the poynt of the gret Compas, that is clept the Centre, be made another litille Compas: than aftre, be the gret Compas devised be Lines in manye parties; and that alle the Lynes meeten at the Centre; so that in as many parties, as the grete Compas schal be departed, in als manye schalle be departed the litille, that is aboute the Centre, alle be it that the spaces ben lesse. Now thanne, be the gret compas represented for the firmament, and the litille compas represented for the Erthe. Now thanne the Firmament is devysed, be Astronomeres, in 12 Signes; and every Signe is

devysed in 30 Degrees, that is 360 Degrees, that the Firmament hathe aboven. Also, be the Erthe devysed in als many parties, as the Firmament; and lat every partye answere to a Degree of the Firmament: and wytethe it wel, that aftre the Auctoures of Astronomye, 700 Furlonges of Erthe answeren to a Degree of the Firmament; and tho ben 87 Miles and 4 Furlonges. Now be that here multiplyed by 360 sithes; and than thei ben 31500 Myles, every of 8 Furlonges, aftre Myles of oure Contree. So moche hathe the Erthe in roundnesse, and of heghte enviroun, aftre myn opynyoun and myn undirstondynge.

[PARAPHRASE.]

In that land and in others beyond no man may see the fixed star of the North which we call the Lode Star. But there men see another star called the Antarctic, opposite to the star of the North. And just as mariners in this hemisphere take their reckoning and govern their course by the North Star, so do the mariners of the South by the Antarctic. But the star of the North appears not to the people of the South. Wherefore men may easily perceive that *the land and the sea are of round shape and figure.* For that part of the firmament which is seen in one country is not seen in another. And men may prove both by experience and sound reasoning that if a man, having passage by ship, should go to search the world, *he might with his vessel sail around the world, both above and under it.* This proposition I prove as follows: I have myself in Prussia seen the North Star by the astrolabe fifty-three degrees above the horizon. Further on in Bohemia it rises to the height of fifty-eight degrees. And still farther northward it is sixty-two degrees and some minutes high. I myself have so measured it. Now the South Pole Star is, as I have said, opposite the North Pole Star. And about these poles the whole celestial sphere revolves like a wheel about the axle; and the firmament is thus divided into two equal parts. From the North I have turned southward, passed the equator, and found that in Lybia the Antarctic Star first appears above the horizon. Farther on in those lands that star rises higher, until in southern Lybia it reaches the height of eighteen degrees and certain minutes, sixty minutes making a degree. After going by sea and by land towards that country [Australia perhaps] of which I have spoken, I have found the Antarctic Star more than thirty-three degrees above the horizon. *And if I had had company and shipping to go still farther, I know of a certainty that I should have seen the whole circumference of the heavens.* * * * * * * *And I repeat that men may environ the whole world, as well under as above, and return to their own country, if they had company, and ships, and conduct.* And always, as well as in their own land shall they find inhabited continents and islands. For know you well that they who dwell in the southern hemisphere are feet against feet of them who dwell in the northern hemisphere, *just as we and they that dwell under us are feet to feet.* For every part of the sea and the land hath its antipode. * * * * * Moreover when men go on a journey toward India and the foreign islands, they do, on the whole route, circle the circumference of the earth, even to those countries which are under us. And therefore hath that same thing, which I heard recited when I was young, happened many times. Howbeit, upon a time, a worthy man departed from our country to explore the world. And so he passed India and the islands beyond India—more than five thousand in number—and so long he went by sea and land, environing the world for many seasons, that he found an island where he heard them speaking his own language, hallooing at the oxen in the plow with the identical words spoken to beasts in his own country. Forsooth, he was astonished: for he knew not how the thing might happen. But I assure you that

he had gone so far by land and sea that he had actually gone around the world and was come again through the long circuit to his own district. It only remained for him to go forth and find his particular neighborhood. Unfortunately he turned from the coast which he had reached, and thereby lost all his painful labor, as he himself afterwards acknowledged when he returned home. For it happened by and by that he went into Norway, being driven thither by a storm; and there he recognized an island as being the same in which he had heard men calling the oxen in his own tongue: and that was a possible thing. And yet it seemeth to simple unlearned rustics that men may not go around the world, and if they did *they would fall off!* But that absurd thing never could happen unless we ourselves from where we are should fall toward heaven! For upon what part soever of the earth men dwell, whether above or under, it always seemeth to them that they walk more perpendicularly than other folks! And just as it seemeth to us that our antipodes are under us head downwards, just so it seemeth to them that we are under them head downwards. If a man might fall from the earth towards heaven, by much more reason the earth itself, being so heavy, should fall to heaven—an impossible thing. * * * * * Perhaps of a thousand men who should go around the world, not one might succeed in returning to his own particular neighborhood. For the earth is indeed a body of great size, its circumference being—according to the old wise astronomers—twenty thousand four hundred and twenty-five miles. And I do not reject their estimates: but according to my judgment, saving their reverence, the circumference of the earth *is somewhat more than that.* And in order to have a clearer understanding of the matter, I use the following demonstration: Let there be imagined a great sphere, and about the point called the center another smaller sphere. Then from different parts of the great sphere let lines be drawn meeting at the center. It is clear that by this means the two spheres will be divided into an equal number of parts having the same relation to each other; but between the divisions on the smaller sphere the absolute space will be less. Now the great sphere represents the heavens and the smaller sphere the earth. But the firmament is divided by astronomers into twelve Signs, and each Sign into thirty degrees, making three hundred and sixty degrees in all. On the surface of the earth there will be, of course, divisions exactly corresponding to those of the celestial sphere, every line, degree and zone of the latter answering to a line, degree or zone of the former. And now know well that *according to the authors of astronomy** seven hundred furlongs, or eighty-seven miles and four furlongs, answer to a degree of the firmament. Multiplying eighty-seven and a half miles by three hundred and sixty—the number of degrees in the firmament—we have thirty-one thousand five hundred English miles. And this according to my belief and demonstration is the true measurement of the circumference of the earth.

* An everlasting shame be to the "olde wise Astronomeres"! If they had given Sir John the correct measurement of a degree of latitude, he would not have missed the circumference of the world *by as much as ten miles!* His argument is absolutely correct. This, too, in A. D. 1856.

APPENDIX B.

A PLAN OF PERPETUAL UNION,

FOR

HIS MAJESTY'S COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA:

PROPOSED BY BENJ. FRANKLIN,

AND

ADOPTED BY THE COLONIAL CONVENTION AT ALBANY, JULY 10TH, 1754.

[This document will be found of special interest as containing the germ of the Articles of Confederation and the Constitution of the United States. It should be remembered that this "Plan of Union," though adopted by the Congress at Albany—only the delegates from Connecticut dissenting—was rejected both by the colonial assemblies and the British Board of Trade,—by the former as being too despotic a constitution and by the latter as a piece of high-handed presumption.—THE AUTHOR.]

THAT the general government of His Majesty's Colonies in North America be administered by a President-General, to be appointed and supported by the crown; and a Grand Council, to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies met in their respective Assemblies;

Who shall meet for the first time at the city of Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania, being called by the President-General as soon as conveniently may be after his appointment;

That there shall be a new election of the members of the Grand Council every three years; and on the death or resignation of any member, his place should be supplied by a new choice at the next sitting of the Assembly of the colony he represented;

That after the first three years, when the proportion of money arising out of each colony to the general treasury can be known, the number of members to be chosen for each colony shall from time to time, in all ensuing elections, be regulated by that proportion, yet so as that the number to be chosen by any one province be not more than seven, nor less than two;

That the Grand Council shall meet once in every year, and oftener if occasion require, at such time and place as they shall adjourn to at the last preceding meeting, or as they shall be called to meet at by the President-General on any emergency; he having first obtained in writing the consent of seven of the members to such call, and sent due and timely notice to the whole;

That the Grand Council have power to choose their speaker; and shall neither be dissolved, prorogued, nor continued sitting longer than six weeks at one time, without their own consent or the special command of the crown;

That the members of the Grand Council shall be allowed for their service ten shillings per diem, during their session and journey to and from the place of meeting; twenty miles to be reckoned a day's journey;

That the assent of the President-General be requisite to all acts of the Grand Council, and that it be his office and duty to cause them to be carried into execution;

That the President-General, with the advice of the Grand Council, hold or direct all

Indian treaties, in which the general interest of the colonies may be concerned; and make peace or declare war with Indian nations:

That they make such laws as they judge necessary for regulating all Indian trade;

That they make all purchases, from Indians for the crown, of lands not now within the bounds of particular colonies, or that shall not be within their bounds, when some of them are reduced to more convenient dimensions;

That they make new settlements on such purchases, by granting lands in the king's name, reserving a quit-rent to the crown for the use of the general treasury;

That they make laws for regulating and governing such new settlements, till the crown shall think fit to form them into particular governments;

That they raise and pay soldiers and build forts for the defence of any of the colonies, and equip vessels of force to guard the coasts and protect the trade on the ocean, lakes, or great rivers; but they shall not impress men in any colony, without the consent of the legislature;

That for these purposes they have power to make laws, and lay and levy such general duties, imposts, or taxes, as to them shall appear most equal and just (considering the ability and other circumstances of the inhabitants in the several colonies,) and such as may be collected with the least inconvenience to the people; rather discouraging luxury, than loading industry with unnecessary burthens;

That they may appoint a General Treasurer and Particular Treasurer in each government, when necessary; and from time to time may order the sums in the treasuries of each government into the general treasury, or draw on them for special payments, as they find most convenient;

Yet no money to issue but by joint orders of the President-General and Grand Council; except where sums have been appropriated to particular purposes, and the President-General is previously empowered by an act to draw such sums;

That the general accounts shall be yearly settled and reported to the several Assemblies;

That a quorum of the Grand Council, empowered to act with the President-General, do consist of twenty-five members; among whom there shall be one or more from a majority of the colonies;

That the laws made by them for the purposes aforesaid shall not be repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, and shall be transmitted to the King in Council for approbation, as soon as may be after their passing; and if not disapproved within three years after presentation, to remain in force;

That, in case of the death of the President-General, the Speaker of the Grand Council for the time being shall succeed, and be vested with the same powers and authorities to continue till the King's pleasure be know;

That all military commission officers, whether for land or sea service, to act under this general constitution, shall be nominated by the President-General; but the approbation of the Grand Council is to be obtained, before they receive their commissions; and all civil officers are to be nominated by the Grand Council, and to receive the President-General's approbation before they officiate;

But, in case of vacancy by death or removal of any officer civil or military under this constitution, the Governor of the province in which such vacancy happens, may appoint, till the pleasure of the President-General and Grand Council can be known;

That the particular military as well as civil establishments in each colony remain in their present state, the general constitution notwithstanding; and that on sudden emergencies any colony may defend itself; and lay the accounts of expense thence arising before the President-General and General Council, who may allow and order payment of the same, as far as they judge such accounts just and reasonable.

APPENDIX C.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,

ADOPTED BY CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Grea Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct ol ct the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:—

He has refused his assent t› laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations, till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He ha refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean-time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:—

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *Free* and *Independent States;* that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as *Free* and *Independent States*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which *Independent States* may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

MASSCHUSETTS BAY.—Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND, ETC.—Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT.—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK.—William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY.—Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.

DELAWARE.—Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thomas M'Kean.

MARYLAND.—Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA.—William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Edward Rutledge, Thomas Hayward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA.—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

APPENDIX D.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

[The Articles of Confederation were drawn up by a committee of gentlemen, who were appointed by Congress for this purpose, June 12, 1776, and finally adopted, November 15, 1777. The committee were Messrs. Bartlett, Samuel Adams, Hopkins, Sherman, R. R. Livingston, Dickinson, M'Kean, Stone, Nelson, Howes, E. Rutledge, and Gwinnet.]

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION.

Between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE I.

The style of this confederacy shall be, "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

ARTICLE II.

Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE III.

The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1.—The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this union, the free inhabitants of each of these States—paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted—shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided, that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction, shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them.

SEC. 2.—If any person, guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon the demand of the Governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence.

SEC. 3. Full faith and credit shall be given, in each of these States, to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ARTICLE V.

SECTION 1.—For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

SEC. 2.—No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years, in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or any other for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument, of any kind.

SEC. 3.—Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of these States.

SEC. 4.—In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

SEC. 5.—Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE VI.

SECTION 1.—No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or State, nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

SEC. 2.—No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

SEC. 3.—No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or State, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

SEC. 4.—No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State, in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

SEC. 5.—No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade

such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or State, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE VII.

When land forces are raised by any State for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each State respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE VIII.

All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States, in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall, from time to time, direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE IX.

SECTION 1.—The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article, of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever; of establishing rules for deciding in all cases what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of capture; provided that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

SEC. 2.—The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint,

by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they can not agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress, for the security of the parties concerned: provided that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward." Provided, also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

SEC. 3.—All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdiction, as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

SEC. 4.—The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective States; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States; provided that the legislative right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated; establishing and regulating post offices from one State to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

SEC. 5.—The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated, "*A Committee of the States*," and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside; provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for

the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half-year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled; but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped, in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number can not be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared, and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

SEC. 6.—The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same: nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

SEC. 7.—The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State, on any question, shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several States.

ARTICLE X.

The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine States, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States, in the Congress of the United States assembled, is requisite.

ARTICLE XI.

Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this Union: But

no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ARTICLE XII.

All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE XIII.

Every State shall abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled, in all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every State.

And whereas it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Con ederation and Perpetual Union, Know ye, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, in all questions which by the said Confederation are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the union shall be perpetual. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands in Congress.

Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the 9th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1778, *and in the third year of the Independence of America.*

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—Josiah Bartlett, John Wentworth, Jr.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.—John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry, Francis Dana, James Lovel, Samuel Holton.

RHODE ISLAND, ETC.—William Ellery, Henry Marchant, John Collins.

CONNECTICUT.—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, Titus Hosmer, Andrew Adams.

NEW YORK.—James Duane, Francis Lewis, William Duer, Gouverneur Morris.

NEW JERSEY.—John Witherspoon, Nath. Scudder.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Robert Morris, Daniel Roberdeau, Jona Bayard Smith, William Clingan, Joseph Reed.

DELAWARE.—Thomas M'Kean, John Dickinson, Nicholas Van Dyke.

MARYLAND.—John Hanson, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA.—Richard Henry Lee, John Banister, Thomas Adams, John Harvie, Francis Lightfoot Lee.

NORTH CAROLINA.—John Penn, Cons. Harnett, John Williams.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—Henry Laurens, Wm. Henry Drayton, John Matthews, Richard Hutson, Thomas Heyward, Jr.

GEORGIA.—John Walton, Edward Telfair, Edward Langworthy.

APPENDIX E.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of North America.

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1.—All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SEC. 2.—The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand; but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts, eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one, Connecticut, five, New York, six, New Jersey, four, Pennsylvania, eight, Delaware, one, Maryland, six, Virginia, ten, North Carolina, five, South Carolina, five, and Georgia, three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 3.—The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the

second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office as President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief-justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment, in cases of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SEC. 4.—The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. 5.—Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house, on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SEC. 6.—The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance on the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and, for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time;

and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SEC. 7.—All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But, in all such cases, the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the President of the United States; and, before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. 8.—The Congress shall have power:—

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts, and provide for the common defence and general welfare, of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States:

To borrow money on the credit of the United States:

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes:

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States:

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures:

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States:

To establish post-offices and post-roads:

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries:

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court:

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations:

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water:

To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years:

To provide and maintain a navy:

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces:

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions:

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress:

To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings:—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. 9.—The migration or importation of such persons, as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax, or duty, may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census, or enumeration, hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties, in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SEC. 10.—No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1.—The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:—

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates; and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose, by ballot, one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then, from the five highest on the list, the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States; the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States; and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be Vice-President. But, if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them, by ballot, the Vice-President.

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers or duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SEC. 2.—The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint, ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. 3.—He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and, in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. 4.—The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in a Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior; and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 2.—The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State, between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed;

but, when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SEC. 3.—Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. 2.—The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SEC. 3.—New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislature of the States concerned, as well of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SEC. 4.—The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided, that no amendment, which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any thing in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON, *President,*
and Deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

MASSACHUSETTS.—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

CONNECTICUT.—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

NEW YORK.—Alexander Hamilton.

NEW JERSEY.—William Livingston, David Bearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.

PENNSYLVANIA.—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

DELAWARE.—George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

MARYLAND.—James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA.—John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

NORTH CAROLINA.—William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

GEORGIA.—William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest:

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated; and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the person or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject, for the same offence, to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled, in any criminal case, to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law; and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate; the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But, in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice.

But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.

SECTION 1.—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2.—Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.

SECTION 1.—All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. 2.—Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SEC. 3.—No person shall be a senator, or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SEC. 4.—The validity of the public debt of the United States authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions, and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State, shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. 5.—The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation the provisions of this Article.

ARTICLE XV.

SECTION 1.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2.—The Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

APPENDIX F.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:—

THE period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service, which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in, the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that, in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove of my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset of the inferiority of any qualifications, experience, in my own eyes—perhaps still more in the eyes of others—has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me, more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services they were temporary, I

have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that, under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead; amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging; in situations in which, not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing wishes, that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual; that the free Constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained; that its administration, in every department, may be stamped with wisdom and virtue; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop; but a solicitude for your welfare, which can not end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsels; nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The Unity of Government, which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence—the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our

country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of *American*, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest: here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds, in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow, and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different way , to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined can not fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of inestimable value, they must derive from Union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to Republican Liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as the main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We

are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—*Northern* and *Southern*, *Atlantic* and *Western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our Western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government, and in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi: they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren, and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a Constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make, and to alter their constitutions of government. But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated

will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the Constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and it is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and the duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits, of thinking, in a free country, should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it, can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that toward the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantage which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interests. Antipathy in one nation against another, disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill-will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So, likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also

to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions; to practice the arts of sedition, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small and weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter. Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of Republican Government. But that jealousy be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interest.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit your own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world—so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always

the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest.

But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences;—consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon, real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your Representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent Powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more,

from the obligation which justice and humanity imposes on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects, not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

G. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES, 17*th September*, 1796.

APPENDIX G.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

[If the Emancipation Proclamation is to be regarded as *the cause* of the freedom of the African race in the United States, then indeed must it be considered as among the most important documents known in history: perhaps the most important of all. The truer view of the case, however, seems to be this: The inexorable Logic of Events was rapidly bringing about the emancipation of the slaves. The National government fell under a stringent necessity to strike a blow at the labor system of the Southern States. With every struggle of the war the sentiment of abolition at the North rose higher and higher. The President himself and the chief supporters of his administration had for years made no concealment of their desire that all men every-where should be free. *The occasion* was at hand. Mr. Lincoln seized and generalized the facts, embodied them in his own words, and became for all time the oracle and interpreter of *National Necessity*.—THE AUTHOR.]

WHEREAS, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing among other things the following, to wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward and forever free, and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

"That the executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States."

NOW, therefore, I, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said

rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaim for the full period of one hundred days from the day the first above-mentioned, order and designate, as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

ARKANSAS, TEXAS, LOUISIANA, (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, SOUTH CAROLINA, NORTH CAROLINA, and VIRGINIA (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this Proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence, and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

[L. S.] *Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.*

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD,
Secretary of State.

PRONUNCIATION OF PROPER NAMES.

[E., English; F., French; S., Spanish; P., Portugese; It., Italian; G., German; N., Norse; Sw., Swedish; Pol., Polish; L., Latin; I., Indian.]

Abenaki [I.], ăb-ĕ-**nah**-kĭ.
Abercrombie [E.], **ăb**-ĕr-krŭm-bĭ.
Adet [F.], ah-**dā**.
Adolphus [L.], ă-**dŏl**-fŭs.
Aix-la-Chapelle [F.], āks-lah-**shah-pĕl**.
Algonquin [I.], ăl-gŏn-**kĕn**.
Almonte [S.], ăl-**mon**-tĕ.
Alvarado [S.], ăl-vă-**rah**-dō.
Ambrister [E.], ăm-**brĭs**-tĕr.
Amerigo Vespucci [It.], ah-mĕr-ē-gō **vĕs-poot**-chē.
Amidas [E.], ăm-ĭd-ăs.
Ampudia [S.], ăm-**poo**-dĭ-ā.
Andrè [F.], ăn-drā.
Antietam [E.], ăn-tē-tăm.
Antonio de Espego [S.], ahn-tō-nĭ-ō dā ĕs-pā-hō.
Arbuthnot [E.], **ahr**-bŭth-nŏt.
Arista [S.], ah-rĭs-tă.
Armada [S.], ahr-**mah**-dă.
Ashe [E.], **ăsh**.
Au Glaize [F.], ō-**glāz**.
Ayavalia [S.], ī-ah-**vahl-yă**.
Ayotla [S.], ī-**ōt**-lă.
Aztecs [I.], **ăz**-tĕks.
Bahia [S.], bah-ē-ă.
Balfour [E.], băl-**foor**.
Barron [E.], **bahr**-rŏn.
Baum [E.], **bawm**.
Baumarchais [F.], bō-mahr-**shā**.
Bayard [E.], **bī**-ahrd.
Beaujeu [F.], bō-**zhŭ**.
Beauregard [F.], **bō**-rā-gahrd.
Beau-Sejour [F.], bō-sā-**zhoor**.
Bellomont [E.], **bĕl**-ō-mŏnt.
Bernard [E.], bĕr-**nahrd**.
Bienville [F.], bē-ong-**vēl**.
Blennerhassett [E.], blĕn-nĕr-**hăs-sĕt**.
Blyth [E.], **blīth**.
Boscawen [E.], bŏs-**kaw**-ĕn.
Buddhist [Sanscrit], **bood**-dĭst.
Bulkeley [E.], **bŭlk**-lĭ.
Burgoyne [E.], bŭr-**goin**.
Cabot [E.], **kăb**-ŏt.
Cadwallader [E.], kăd-**wahl**-lă-dĕr.
Canonchet [I.], kā-**nŏn**-shĕt.
Canonicus [I.], kā-**nŏn**-ĭ-kŭs.
Canseau [F.], kăn-**sō**.
Carleton [E.], **kahrl**-tŭn.
Cartier [F.], kahr-tĭ-ā.
Casimer [Sw.], **kăs**-ĭ-mĕr.
Castin [F.], kăs-**tăn**.
Chabot [F.], shă-**bō**.
Cham [Tartar], **kăm**.
Champe [E.], **kămp**.
Champlain [F.], shăm-**plān**.
Chapultepec [S.], kah-pool-tā-**pĕk**.
Chaudiere [F.], shō-dē-**ār**.
Chauncey [E.], **chawn**-sĕ.
Cherbourg [F.], **shĕr**-boorg.
Cherokee [I.], **chĕr**-ō-kē.
Chickamauga [E.], chĭk-ă-**maw**-gă.
Chickasaws [I.], **chĭk**-ă-sawz.
Chicora [S.], chē-**kō**-ră.
Chignecto [I.], shē-**nĕk**-tō.
Chihuahau [S.], shē-**wah**-wah.
Choctaws [I.], **chŏk**-tawz.
Christison [Sw.], **krĭs**-tĭ-sŭn.
Christophe [S.], krĭs-**tō**-fē.
Chrysler [E.], **krĭs**-lĕr.
Churubusco [S.], koo-roo-**boos-kō**.
Clarendon [E.], **klăr** ĕn-dŭn.
Cochrane [E.], **kŏk**-răn.
Coligni [F.], kō-**lēn**-yē.
Columbus [L.], kō-**lŭm**-bŭs.
Comanches [I.], kō-**măn**-chĕz.
Condé [F.], kŏn-**dā**.
Contreras [S.], kōn-**trā**-răs.
Copernicus [L.], kō-**pĕr**-nĭ-kŭs.
Copley [E.], **kŏp**-lĕ.
Corees [I.], **kō**-rēz.
Cornwallis [E.], kawrn-**wahl**-lĭs.
Credit Mobilier [F.], **crā**-dĭ-mō-**bĭl-l-ā**.
Croghan [E.], **krōg**-hăn.
Dacres [E.], **dāk**-ĕrz.
Dahlgren [E.], **dăl**-grĕn.
Darrah [E.], **dahr**-rah.
D'Anville [F.], dŏng-**vēl**.
D'Aubrey [F.], dō-**brā**.
Daye [E.], **dā**.
De Barras [F.], dŭ bahr-**rah**.
Decatur [E.], dĕ-**kā**-tŭr.
De Fleury [F.], dŭ **flŭr**-ĭ.
De Grasse [F.], dŭ **grăs**.
De Kalb [F.], dŭ **kahlb**.
Delaplace [F.], dŭ-lă-**plăs**.
De Monts [F.], dŭ **mong**.
D'Estaing [F.], dā-**stăng**.
De Ternay [F.], dŭ tĕr-**nā**.
De Vaca [S.], dā **vah**-kă.
De Vergor [F.], dŭ-vār-**gōr**.
De Villiers [F.], dŭ-vēl-**yār**.
De Vries [F.], dŭ **vrēz**.
Dieskau [F.], dē-ĕs-**kō**.
Dominic de Gourges [F.], dō-**măn-ēk dĕ goorg**.
Dongan [E.], **dŭn**-găn.
Doniphan [E.], **dŏn**-ĭ-făn.
Dupont [E.], dŭ-**pōnt**.
Du Quesne [F.], dē-**kān**.
Dyar [E.], **dī**-ăr.
Eldorado [S.], ĕl-dō-**rah**-dō.

Elkswatawa [I.], ĕlks-**wah**-tah-wah.
Emuefau [I.], ĕ-**mook**-faw.
Endicott [E.], **ĕn**-dĭ-kŏt.
Ericsson [E.], **ĕr**-ĭks-sŭn.
Erskine [E.], **ĕr**-skĭn.
Esopus [E.], ē-**sō**-pŭs.
Esquimaux [I.], **es**-kĭ-mōz.
Farragut [E.] **fahr**-ră-gū.
Ferdinand de Soto [S.], **fĕr**-dĭ-nahnd dā **so**-tō.
Ferdinand Gorges [E.], **fĕr**-dĭ-nănd **gŏr**-jĕz.
Ferdinand Magellen [P.], **fĕr**-dĭ-nănd ma-**jel**-lăn.
Ferguson [E.], **fŭr**-gŭ-sŭn.
Fernandez de Cordova [S.], fĕr-**nahn**-dĕth dā **kōr**-dō-vă.
Fernando Cortez [S.], fĕr-**nahn**-dō **kōr**-tĕth.
Fouchet [F.], foo-**shā**.
Fraser [E.], **frā**-zĕr.
Freneau [E.], frē-**nō**.
Frobisher [E.], **frŏb**-ĭsh-ĕr.
Frontenac [F.], frŏn-tē-**năk**.
Gabarus [E.], gă-**băr**-ŭs.
Galileo [It.], gah-lĭ-**lā**-ō.
Gambier [F.], gahm-bĭ-**ā**.
Ganowanian [I.], gah-nō-**wahn**-ĭ-ăn.
Gaspar Cortereal [P.], **gahs**-pahr kōr-tā-rā-**ahl**.
Gaspé [F.], găs-**pā**.
Gawen [E.], **gaw**-ĕn.
Genet [F.], zhē-**nā**.
Gillis [G.], **gĭl**-lĭs.
Gladwyn [E.], **glăd**-wĭn.
Gloucester [E.], **glŏs**-tĕr.
Godyn [E.], gō-**dĭn**.
Gofle [E.], **gawf**.
Gorgeana [E.], gŏr-jē-**ăn**-ă.
Gosnold [E.], **gŏs**-nōld.
Goulburn [E.], **gool**-bŭrn.
Grierson [E.], **grēr**-sŭn.
Grijalva [S.], grē-**hahl**-vă.
Guerriere [F.], gĕr-rĭ-**ār**.
Gustavus [L.], gŭs-**tā**-vŭs.
Hakluyt [E.], **hăk**-loot.
Havre de Grace [F.], hahver-dŭ-**grăs**.
Hayne [E.], **hān**.
Heister [G.], **hīs**-tĕr.
Herjulfson [N.], **hār**-yoolf-sōn.
Herkimer [E.], **hŭr**-kĭ-mĕr.
Hertel [F.], hĕr-**tĕl**.
Hochelaga [I.], hŏk-ĕ-**lah**-gă.
Hosset [G.], **hŏs**-sĕt.
Houston [E.], **hows**-tŭn.
Hovenden [E.], **hō**-vĕn-dĕn.
Hugenots [F.], **hū**-gĕ-nŏts.
Iroquois [I.], ĭr-ō-**kwah**.
Isabella [S.], ĭz-ă-**bĕl**-lă.
Isle-aux-Noix [F.], ēl-ō-**nooah**.
Iuka [E.], ĭ-**yoo**-kă.
Jameson [E.], **jăm**-ĕ-sŭn.
Joris [G.], **yō**-rĭs.
Juan Ponce de Leon [S.], **hwahn pōn**-thā dā **lā**-ōn.

Juarez [S.], **hwaw**-rĕth.
Jumonville [F.], zhē-mŏng-**vēl**.
Kamtchatkans [I.], kăm-**tchăt**-kănz.
Kearney [E.], **kahr**-nĕ.
Kearsarge [E.], **kahr**-sahr-gĕ, or **kĕr**-sahrj.
Kieft [E.], **kēft**.
Klamaths [I.], **klăm**-ăths.
Knowlton [E.], **nōl**-tŭn.
Knyphausen [G.], **nēp**-how-sĕn.
Kosciusko [Pol.], **kŏs**-sĭ-**ŭs**-kō.
Kossuth [G.], kŏs-**shoot**.
Koszta [Hungarian], **kōt**-tă.
La Colle [F.], lă-**kŏl**.
La Fayette [F.], lă-fā-**ĕt**.
La Fitte [F.], lă-**fĭt**.
La Roche [F.], lă-**rōsh**.
La Roque [F.], lă-rōk.
La Salle [F.], lă-**săl**.
Lathrop [E.], **lā**-thrŭp.
Laudonnière [F.], lō-dŏn-nĭ-**ār**.
Laurie [E.], **law**-rĭ.
La Vega [S.], lah vā-gă.
Le Bœuf [F.], lŭ-**bŭf**.
Leddra [E.], **lĕd**-rā.
Ledyard [E.], **lĕd**-yahrd.
Leisler [G.], **līs**-lĕr.
Leitch [E.], **lēch**.
Leverett [E.], **lĕv**-ĕr-ĕt.
Leyden [G.], **lī**-dĕn.
Lief Erickson [N.], **lēf ĕr**-ĭk-sŭn.
Lionel [E.], **lī**-ō-nĕl.
Lopez [S.], **lō**-pĕth.
Loudoun [E.], loo-**doon**.
Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon [S.], **loo**-kahs **vahs**-kĕth dā īl-**yōn**.
Lützen [G.], **lētz**-ĕn.
Luzerne [Swiss], loo-**zĕrn**.
Macdonough [E.], măk-**dŏn**-ō.
Macdougall [E.], măk-**doo**-găl.
Macomb [E.], mā-**kōm**.
Magaw [E.], mă-**gaw**.
Mandeville [E.], **măn**-dĕ-vĭl.
Manteo [I.], **mahn**-tē ō.
Manuel [P.], **mahn**-oo-ăl.
Markham [E.], **mahrk**-ăm.
Marlborough [E], **mahrl**-brŭ.
Massasoit [I.], măs-**săs**-ō-ĭt.
Mather [E.], **măthe**-ĕr.
Matoaka [I.], măt-ō-**ăk**-ă.
Matthews [E.], **măth**-ūz.
Maurepas [F.], mō-rē-**pah**.
Maximilian [G.], măx-ĭ-**mĭl**-yăn.
McCullough [E.], măk-**kul**-lō.
McIntosh [E.], **măk**-ĭn-tŏsh.
Meacham [E.], **mē**-chăm.
Meigs [E.], **mĕgz**.
Meta Incognita [L.], **mē**-tă ĭn-**cŏg**-nĭ-tă.
Miantonomoh [I.], mĭ-ăn-tō-**nō**-mō.
Micanopy [I.], mī-**kăn**-ō-pĭ.
Minuit [G.], **mĭn**-oo-ĭt.
Mohegan [I.], mō-**hē**-găn.
Monckton [E.], **mŭnk**-tŭn.
Monk [E.], **mŭnk**.

Montcalm [F.], mŏnt-**kahm**.
Monteano [S.], mōn-tā-**ahn**-ō.
Montezuma [I.], mŏn-tē-**zoo**-mă.
Montmorenci [F.], mŏnt-mō-**rĕn**-sĭ.
Mosley [E.], **mŏz**-lē.
Moultrie [E.], **mōl**-trĭ.
Nairne [E.], **nārn**.
Nassau [F.], năs-sō.
Naumkeag [I.], nawm-kē-**ăg**.
Nipmucks [I.], **nĭp**-mŭks.
Nueces [S.], **nwā**-sĕs.
Ocklawaha [I.], ŏk-lă-**wäh**-hah.
Odeneal [E.], ō-dĕn-ēl.
Oglethorpe [E.], ō-gĕl-thŏrp.
O'Hara [E.], ō-**hahr**-ră.
Ojeda [S.], ō-**hā**-dă.
Okeechobee [I.], ō-kē-**chō**-bē.
Oldham [E.], **ōld**-ām.
Olustee [E.], ō-**lŭs**-tē.
Opecancanough [I.], ō-pē-**kăn**-kăn-ŏ.
Orapax [I.], **ōr**-ă păkx.
Osceola [I.], ŏs-sē-**ō**-lā.
Oswald [E.], **ŏz**-wawld.
Ouatanon [I.], waht-**ă**-**nŏn**.
Oxenstiern [Sw.], **ŏks**-ĕn-stērn.
Pamphilo de Narvaez [S.], pahm-fē-lō dā nahr-**vah**-ĕth.
Pascua Florida [L.], **pahs**-koo-ă **flōr**-ĭ-dă.
Pauw [G.], **paw**.
Pedro Menendez [S.], **pā**-drō mā-**lĕn**-dĕth.
Pemaquid [I.], **pĕm**-ă-kwĭd.
Pepperell [E.], **pĕp**-pĕr-ĕl.
Pequod [I.], **pē**-kwŏd.
Perote [S.], pā-**rō**-tĕ.
Pigot [E.], **pĭg**-ŏt.
Pinta [S.], **pēn**-tă.
Pitcairn [E.], **pĭt**-kārn.
Pizarro [S.], pē-**thahr**-rō.
Pocahontas [I.], pŏk-ă-**hŏn**-tăs.
Poictiers [F.], pwah-tē-**ā**.
Point au Trembles [F.], pwăn tō **trahmbl**.
Pontchartrain [F.], pōn-shahr-**trān**.
Poutrincourt [F.], poo-trăn-**koor**.
Powhatan [I.], pow-hăt-**an**.
Presque Isle [F.], prĕsk **ēl**.
Prevost [E.], **prĕv**-ōst.
Prideaux [F.], prē-**dō**.
Pulaski [Pol.], poo-**lahs**-kĭ.
Quantrell [E.], **kwahn**-trĕl.
Queretaro [S.], kā-rā-**tah**-rō.
Rahl [G.], **rahl**.
Releigh [E.], **raw**-lĭ.
Ratcliffe [E.], **răt**-klĭf.
Rawdon [E.], **raw**-dŭn.
Raymbault [F.], rām-**bō**.
Revere [E.], rē-**vĕr**.
Riall [E.], rī-ăl.
Ribault [F.], rē-**bō**.
Roberval [F.], rōb-ĕr-**vahl**.
Rochambeau [F.], rō-shăm-**bō**.
Rochelle [F.], rō-shĕl.
Roderigo Triana [S.], rōd-**rē**-gō trē-**ah**-nă.
Roseerans [G.], **rōs**-ė krahns.
Ryswick [G.], **rēs**-wĭk.
Saltillo [S.], sahl-**tēl** yō.
Samosset [I.], **săm**-ō-sĕt.
Santa Maria [S.], **sahn**-tă mah-**rē**-**ä**.
Sassacus [I.], **săs**-săk-ŭs.
Sayle [E.], **sāl**.
Schuyler [E.], **skī**-lĕr.
Selish [I.], **sē**-lĭsh.
Seminoles [I.], **sĕm**-ĭ-nōlz.
Sheaffe [G.], **shăf**-fē.
Shoshonees [I.], shō-**shō**-**nēz**.
Sicklemore [E.], **sĭk**-ĕl-mōr.
Sloughter [E.], **slō**-tĕr.
Squanto [I.], **skwahn**-tō.
St. Croix [F.], sānt-**kroi**.
Steuben [G.], **stū**-bĕn.
Stirling [E.], **stŭr**-lĭng.
St. Leger [F.], săn lā-**zhā**.
Stoughton [E.], **stō**-tŭn.
St. Pierre [F.], săn pē-**ār**.
Stuyvesant [G.], **stī**-vĕs ănt.
Subercase [F.], sē-bĕr-**kahs**.
Talladega [I.], tahl-lă-**dē**-gă.
Tamaulipas [S.], tahm-aw-**lē**-păs.
Tanacharisson [L.], tăn-ă-**kăr**-ĭs-sŭn.
Tecumtha [I.], tē-**kŭm**-thă.
Theresa [G.], **tēr**-**ĕs**-ă.
Thorfinn Karlsefne [N.], **tōr**-fĭn **kahrl** sĕf-nĕ.
Thorstein Erickson [N.], **tōr**-stīn **ĕr**-ĭk-**sŭn**.
Tituba [I.], tĭ-**too**-bă.
Tohopeka [I.], tō-hō-**pē**-kă.
Tomo-Chichi [I.], **tō**-mō-**chē**-chĭ.
Van Rensselaer [E.], văn **rēns**-sē-lahr.
Van Twiller [G.], văn **twĭl**-lĕr.
Vasco de Gama [P.], **vahs**-kō dā **gah**-mă
Vasco Nunez de Balboa [S.], **vahs**-kō **noon** yĕth dā bahl-**bō**-ă.
Vaudreuil [F.], vō-drŭ-**ēl**.
Vaughan [E.], **vawn**.
Vergennes [F.], vĕr-**zhĕn**.
Verhulst [G.], **vār**-hoolst.
Verrazzani [It.], vĕr-răt-**tsah**-**nĕ**.
Wainman [E.], **wān**-măn.
Walloons [G.], wahl-**loonz**.
Wampanoags [I.], wahm-păn-**ō**-**agz**.
Warwick [E.], **wahr**-rĭck.
Waymouth [E.], **wā**-muth.
Welde [E.], **wel**-dĕ.
Weitzel [G.], **wīt**-zĕl.
Whalley [E.], **hwahl**-lĭ.
Whinyates [E.], **hwin**-yāts.
Whitefield [E.], **hwit**-fēld.
Wingina [I.], **wĭn**-gē-nă.
Worcester [E.], **woos**-tĕr
Wouter [G.], **woo**-tĕr.
Xeres [S.], **hā**-rĕth.
Yamacraws [I.], **yahm**-ă-kraws.
Yeamans [E.], **yĕ**-mănz.
Yeardley [E.], **yŭrd**-lĭ.
Youghiogheny [I.], yŏh-hō-**gā**-nĭ.
Yusef [Moorish], **yoo**-sĕf.
Zenger [G.], **zĕn**-gĕr.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF 1890, WITH COMPARATIVE TABLES.

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES.—1789-1892.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	POPULATION.			INCREASE FROM 1880 TO 1890.	
	1890	1880	1870	NUMBER.	PERCENTAGE.
United States	62,622,250	50,155,783	38,558,371	12,466,467	24.86
North Atlantic division	17,401,545	14,507,407	12,298,730	2,894,138	19.95
Maine	661,086	648,936	626,915	12,150	1.87
New Hampshire	376,530	346,991	318,300	29,539	8.51
Vermont	332,422	332,286	330,551	136	0.04
Massachusetts	2,238,943	1,783,085	1,457,351	455,858	25.57
Rhode Island	345,506	276,531	217,353	68,975	24.94
Connecticut	746,258	622,700	537,454	123,558	19.84
New-York	5,997,853	5,082,871	4,382,759	914,982	18.00
New Jersey	1,444,933	1,131,116	906,096	313,817	27.74
Pennsylvania	5,258,014	4,282,891	3,521,951	975,123	22.77
South Atlantic division	8,857,920	7,597,197	5,853,610	1,260,723	16.59
Delaware	168,493	146,608	125,015	21,885	14.93
Maryland	1,042,390	934,943	780,894	107,447	11.49
District of Columbia	230,392	177,624	131,700	52,768	29.71
Virginia	1,655,980	1,512,565	1,225,163	143,415	9.48
West Virginia	762,794	618,457	442,014	144,337	23.34
North Carolina	1,617,947	1,399,750	1,071,361	218,197	15.59
South Carolina	1,151,149	995,577	705,606	155,572	15.63
Georgia	1,837,353	1,542,180	1,184,109	295,173	19.14
Florida	391,422	269,493	187,748	121,929	45.24
Northern Central division	22,362,279	17,364,111	12,981,111	4,998,168	28.78
Ohio	3,672,316	3,198,062	2,665,260	474,254	14.83
Indiana	2,192,404	1,978,301	1,680,637	214,103	10.82
Illinois	3,826,351	3,077,871	2,539,891	748,480	24.32
Michigan	2,093,889	1,636,937	1,184,059	456,952	27.92
Wisconsin	1,686,880	1,315,497	1,054,670	371,383	28.23
Minnesota	1,301,826	780,773	439,706	521,053	66.74
Iowa	1,911,896	1,624,615	1,194,020	287,281	17.68
Missouri	2,679,184	2,168,380	1,721,295	510,804	23.56
North Dakota	182,719	36,909	} 14,181	§ 145,810	395.05
South Dakota	328,808	98,268	}	§ 230,540	234.60
Nebraska	1,058,910	452,402	122,993	606,508	134.06
Kansas	1,427,096	996,096	364,399	431,000	43.27
Southern Central division	10,972,893	8,919,371	6,434,410	2,053,522	23.02
Kentucky	1,858,635	1,648,690	1,321,011	209,945	12.73
Tennessee	1,767,518	1,542,359	1,258,520	225,159	14.60
Alabama	1,513,017	1,262,505	996,992	250,512	19.84
Mississippi	1,289,600	1,131,597	827,922	158,003	13.96
Louisiana	1,118,587	939,946	726,915	178,641	19.01
Texas	2,235,523	1,591,749	818,579	643,774	40.44
Indian Territory*	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Oklahoma	† 61,834	.....	.....	61,834	.....
Arkansas	1,128,179	802,525	484,471	325,654	40.58
Western division	3,027,613	1,767,697	990,510	1,259,916	71.27
Montana	132,159	39,159	20,595	93,000	237.49
Wyoming	60,705	20,789	9,118	39,916	192.01
Colorado	412,198	194,327	39,864	217,871	112.13
New Mexico	153,593	119,565	91,874	34,028	28.46
Arizona	59,620	40,440	9,658	19,180	47.43
Utah	207,905	143,963	86,786	63,942	44.42
Nevada	45,761	62,266	42,491	§ 16,505	§ 26.51
Idaho	84,385	32,610	14,999	51,775	158.77
Alaska‡	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Washington	349,390	75,116	23,955	274,274	365.13
Oregon	313,767	174,768	90,923	138,999	79.53
California	1,208,130	864,694	560,247	343,436	39.72

* The number of white persons in the Indian Territory is not included in this table, as the census of Indians and other persons on Indian reservations, which was made a subject of special investigation by law, has not yet been completed.

† Including 5,338 persons in Greer County (in Indian Territory), claimed by Texas.

‡ The number of white persons in Alaska is not included in this table, as the census of Alaska, which was made a subject of special investigation by law, has not yet been completed.

§ Decrease.

The following tables give the population of important towns and cities in 1880 and the population of the same in 1890.

	1880	1890
ALABAMA—		
Birmingham	400	26,241
Huntsville	4,977	4,655
Mobile	29,132	31,822
Montgomery	16,713	21,730
Selma	7,529	7,626
ARIZONA—(**Prescott**)		
Tucson	7,007	5,095
ARKANSAS—		
Helena	3,624	5,185
Little Rock	13,138	26,500
Texarkana	3,223	3,486
CALIFORNIA—		
Alameda	5,708	
Eureka		4,854
Fresno	1,112	10,796
Los Angeles	11,183	50,394
Marysville	4,321	3,936
Napa City		4,387
Oakland	34,555	48,590
Petaluma		3,686
Sacramento	21,420	26,272
San Diego	2,637	16,153
San Francisco	233,959	297,990
San José	12,567	18,027
Santa Rosa	3,616	5,216
Stockton	10,282	14,376
Vallejo	5,987	5,904
COLORADO—		
Colorado Springs	4,226	11,200
Denver	35,629	106,670
Leadville	14,820	11,159
Pueblo	3,217	28,128
CONNECTICUT—		
Bridgeport	27,643	48,856
Bristol	5,347	7,374
Danbury	11,666	19,385
Greenwich	7,892	10,120
Groton	5,128	5,511
Hartford	42,015	53,182
Manchester	6,462	8,217
Meriden	15,540	21,230
Middletown	6,826	9,012
Naugatuck	4,274	6,219
New Britain	11,800	19,010
New Haven	62,882	85,981
New London	10,537	13,759
Norwalk	5,308	7,739
Norwich	15,112	16,192
Plainfield	4,021	4,519
Portland	4,157	4,682
Putnam	5,827	6,511
Southington	5,411	5,499
Stafford	4,455	
Stamford	11,297	15,685
Thompson	5,051	5,593
Vernon	6,905	8,807
Wallingford	4,686	6,538
Waterbury	17,806	28,591
DELAWARE—(**Dover**)		
Wilmington	42,478	61,437
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—		
Washington	147,293	229,796
FLORIDA—		
Jacksonville	7,650	17,139
Key West	6,890	18,058
Pensacola	6,845	11,751
Tallahassee		2,933
GEORGIA—		
Athens	6,099	8,627
Atlanta	37,409	65,515
Augusta	21,891	33,150
Brunswick	2,891	8,403
Columbus	10,123	18,650
Dalton		3,030
Macon	12,479	22,698
Milledgeville		3,306
Rome	3,877	6,950
Savannah	30,709	41,762

	1880	1890
ILLINOIS—		
Alton	8,975	10,184
Aurora	11,873	19,634
Batavia	2,639	3,613
Belleville	19,683	15,360
Belvidere	2,951	3,863
Bloomington	17,180	22,242
Cairo	9,011	10,044
Canton	3,762	5,589
Centralia	3,621	4,762
Champaign	5,103	5,827
Charleston	2,867	4,135
Chicago	503,185	1,099,133
Collinsville	2,887	3,498
Clinton	2,709	2,596
Danville	7,733	11,528
Decatur	9,547	16,841
Dixon	3,658	5,149
East St. Louis	9,185	15,156
Edwardsville	2,887	3,579
Elgin	8,787	17,425
Effingham	3,065	3,260
Freeport	8,516	10,159
Galena	6,541	6,406
Galesburg	11,437	15,212
Jacksonville	10,927	12,357
Jerseyville	2,894	3,204
Joliet	11,657	27,407
Kankakee	5,651	7,300
Kewanee	2,704	4,554
La Salle	7,847	11,610
Lincoln	5,639	6,125
Litchfield	4,326	5,798
Mattoon	5,737	6,829
Moline	7,800	11,995
Monmouth	5,000	5,837
Morrison	1,981	2,500
Nashville	2,222	2,083
Olney	3,512	3,828
Ottawa	7,834	9,971
Paris	4,373	5,049
Pana	3,009	5,067
Peoria	29,259	40,758
Pontiac	2,242	3,200
Quincy	27,268	31,478
Rockford	13,129	23,589
Rock Island	11,659	13,596
Shelbyville	2,939	3,162
Sandwich	2,352	2,505
Springfield	19,743	24,852
Sterling	5,087	5,822
Streator	5,157	9,671
Waukegan	4,012	5,345
INDIANA—		
Anderson	4,126	10,759
Aurora	4,435	3,928
Brazil	3,441	5,902
Columbus	4,813	6,705
Crawfordsville	5,251	6,086
Elkhart	6,953	11,489
Evansville	29,280	50,674
Fort Wayne	26,880	35,349
Frankfort	2,803	5,918
Franklin	3,116	3,783
Goshen	4,123	6,027
Greensburg	3,138	3,581
Huntington	3,174	7,300
Indianapolis	75,056	107,445
Jeffersonville	9,357	11,274
Kokomo	4,042	8,224
Lafayette	14,860	16,283
La Porte	6,195	7,122
Lawrenceburg	4,668	4,280
Logansport	11,198	13,798
Madison	8,945	8,923
Michigan City	7,366	10,704
Mishawaka	2,640	3,369
Mount Vernon	3,730	4,710

	1880	1890
Muncie	5,219	12,883
New Albany	16,423	21,000
Peru	5,280	6,730
Plymouth	2,570	2,723
Princeton	2,566	6,494
Richmond	12,472	16,849
Seymour	4,250	5,307
South Bend	13,280	21,786
Terre Haute	26,042	31,000
Valparaiso	4,461	5,083
Vincennes	7,680	8,815
Wabash	3,800	5,196
Washington	4,323	6,052
Warsaw	3,123	3,559
IOWA—		
Boone	3,330	6,518
Burlington	19,450	26,000
Cedar Falls	3,020	3,598
Cedar Rapids	10,104	17,977
Charles City	2,421	2,798
Clinton	9,052	14,000
Council Bluffs	18,063	21,388
Creston	5,081	7,119
Davenport	21,831	25,161
Des Moines	22,408	50,067
Dubuque	22,254	30,147
Fairfield	3,086	3,379
Fort Madison	4,679	7,906
Grinnell	2,415	3,327
Iowa City	7,123	5,628
Keokuk	12,117	14,075
Lyons	4,095	5,791
Marshalltown	6,240	9,308
Mason City	2,510	4,002
Mount Pleasant	4,410	4,918
Muscatine	8,295	11,432
Newton	2,607	2,563
Oskaloosa	4,598	7,300
Ottumwa	9,004	14,500
Sioux City	7,366	37,862
Waterloo	5,630	6,679
KANSAS—		
Atchison	15,105	14,222
Emporia	4,631	7,550
Fort Scott	5,372	11,837
Independence	3,128	3,121
Junction City	2,684	4,477
Lawrence	8,510	9,975
Leavenworth	16,546	21,613
Manhattan	2,105	2,972
Newton	2,601	5,602
Olathe	2,285	3,290
Osage City	2,098	3,222
Oswego	2,351	2,522
Ottawa	4,032	6,271
Parsons	4,199	6,736
Salina	3,111	6,031
Topeka	15,452	31,809
Wichita	4,911	24,000
KENTUCKY—		
Bowling Green	5,114	7,722
Covington	29,720	37,375
Danville	3,074	3,765
Frankfort	6,958	8,500
Henderson	5,365	9,500
Hopkinsville	4,229	6,457
Lexington	16,656	22,355
Louisville	123,758	161,005
Maysville	5,220	5,350
Newport	20,433	24,938
Owensboro	6,231	9,918
Paducah	8,036	13,024
Paris	3,204	5,505
Richmond	2,909	4,737
LOUISIANA—		
Baton Rouge	7,197	10,397
New Orleans	216,090	241,995
Shreveport	8,009	11,482
MAINE—		
Auburn	9,555	11,228
Augusta	8,665	10,521
Bangor	16,856	19,0 0
Bath	7,874	8,713
Belfast	5,308	5,235
Biddeford	12,651	14,418
Brunswick	5,384	5,998
Calais	6,173	7,227
Camden	4,386	4,621
Cape Elizabeth	5,302	5,209
Deering	4,324	5,337
Eastport	4,006	4,899
Ellsworth	5,052	4,784
Gardiner	4,439	5,484
Lewiston	19,083	21,668
Portland	33,810	36,608
Rockland	7,599	8,137
Saco	6,389	6,075
Waterville	4,672	7,091
MARYLAND—		
Annapolis	6,642	7,625
Baltimore	332,313	433,547
Cumberland	10,693	10,030
Frederick	8,659	9,621
Hagerstown	6,627	11,698
Havre de Grace	2,816	3,219
Salisbury	2,581	2,905
MASSACHUSETTS—		
Abington	3,697	4,244
Adams	5,591	9,217
Amesbury	3,355	9,797
Amherst	4,298	4,501
Andover	5,169	6,127
Arlington	4,100	5,625
Athol	4,307	6,318
Attleborough	11,111	7,575
Barnstable	4,242	4,022
Beverly	8,456	10,795
Blackstone	4,907	6,137
Boston	362,839	446,507
Braintree		4,848
Brockton	13,608	27,278
Bridgewater		3,652
Brookline	8,057	12,076
Cambridge	52,669	69,837
Canton	4,516	4,521
Chelsea	21,782	27,850
Chicopee	11,286	14,007
Clinton	8,029	10,379
Danvers	6,598	7,446
Dedham	6,233	7,116
Deerfield		2,905
Easthampton	4,206	4,381
Everett	4,159	11,040
Fall River	48,961	74,351
Fitchburg	12,429	22,007
Framington	6,235	9,636
Franklin	4,051	4,824
Gardner	4,988	8,386
Gloucester	19,329	21,262
Grafton	4,030	4,989
Great Barrington	4,653	4,607
Haverhill	18,472	27,322
Hingham	4,485	4,517
Holyoke	21,915	35,528
Hopkinton	4,601	4,078
Hudson	3,739	4,666
Hyde Park	7,088	10,200
Lawrence	39,151	44,559
Lee	3,939	3,778
Leominster	5,772	7,266
Lexington		3,197
Lowell	59,475	77,605
Lynn	38,274	55,684
Malden	12,017	22,984
Marblehead	7,467	8,200
Marlborough	10,127	13,788
Medford	7,573	10,052
Melrose	4,560	8,500
Methuen	4,392	4,807
Middleborough	5,237	6,052
Milford	9,310	8,769
Millbury	4,741	4,427

	1880	1890
Milton	.....	4,278
Montague	4,875	6,292
Nantucket	.....	3,268
Natick	8,479	9,116
Needham	5,252	3,034
New Bedford	26,845	40,705
Newburyport	13,538	13,914
Newton	16,995	24,357
North Adams	10,191	16,067
Northampton	12,172	14,961
Northbridge	4,053	4,603
North Brookfield	4,459	3,859
Orange	.....	4,563
Palmer	5,504	6,898
Peabody	9,028	10,123
Pittsfield	13,364	17,252
Plymouth	7,093	7,292
Provincetown	4,346	4,642
Quincy	10,570	16,711
Reading	.....	4,081
Randolph	4,027	3,943
Revere	.....	5,664
Rockland	4,553	5,206
Salem	27,563	30,735
Salisbury	4,079	1,306
Saugus	.....	3,671
Somerville	24,933	40,117
Southbridge	6,464	7,744
South Hadley	3,538	4,253
Spencer	7,466	8,730
Springfield	33,340	44,164
Stoneham	4,890	6,140
Stoughton	4,875	4,850
Taunton	21,213	25,389
Wakefield	5,547	6,970
Waltham	11,712	18,522
Ware	4,817	7,329
Warren	.....	4,678
Watertown	5,426	7,058
Webster	5,696	7,030
Westborough	5,214	5,229
Westfield	7,587	9,798
West Springfield	4,149	5,075
Winchester	.....	4,853
Weymouth	10,570	10,843
Williamstown	3,394	4,226
Winchendon	3,722	4,388
Woburn	10,931	13,491
Worcester	58,291	84,536
MICHIGAN—		
Adrian	7,849	9,239
Allegan	2,305	2,663
Alpena	6,153	11,228
Ann Arbor	8,061	9,509
Battle Creek	7,063	13,090
Bay City	20,693	27,826
Cadillac	.....	4,455
Cheboygan	2,269	6,244
Coldwater	4,681	5,462
Detroit	116,340	205,669
East Saginaw	19,016	46,137
Flint	8,409	9,845
Grand Haven	4,862	4,988
Grand Rapids	32,016	64,147
Greenville	3,144	3,048
Hastings	2,531	2,951
Hillsdale	.....	3,920
Ionia	4,190	...
Ishpeming	6,039	11,184
Jackson	16,105	20,779
Kalamazoo	8,057	17,857
Lansing	8,319	12,630
Ludington	4,190	7,499
Manistee	6,930	12,799
Marquette	4,690	9,096
Marshall	.....	3,957
Menominee	3,288	10,606
Monroe	4,930	5,246
Muskegon	11,262	22,668
Niles	4,197	4,195
Pontiac	4,509	6,243
Port Huron	8,883	13,519
Saginaw	10,525	46,215
Three Rivers	2,525	3,122
West Bay City	6,397	12,910
Wyandotte	3,631	3,798
Ypsilanti	4,984	6,128
MINNESOTA—		
Austin	2,305	3,901
Duluth	5,415	32,725
Faribault	5,425	6,524
Hastings	3,809	3,691
Mankato	5,570	8,805
Minneapolis	46,887	164,738
New Ulm	2,471	3,741
Red Wing	5,876	6,277
Rochester	5,103	5,321
Saint Paul	41,473	133,156
Saint Peter	3,436	3,671
Stillwater	9,055	11,259
Winona	10,208	18,208
MISSISSIPPI—		
Columbus	3,955	4,552
Jackson	5,204	6,041
Meridian	4,008	10,889
Natchez	7,058	10,132
Vicksburg	11,814	13,298
Yazoo City	2,542	5,247
MISSOURI—		
Booneville	3,854	4,132
Brookfield	2,264	4,534
Cape Girardeau	3,889	4,288
Carthage	4,167	7,262
Carrollton	2,313	3,858
Clinton	2,868	4,689
Fulton City	2,409	4,289
Hannibal	11,074	12,816
Holden	2,014	2,515
Independence	3,146	6,373
Jefferson City	5,271	6,732
Joplin	7,038	9,190
Kansas City	55,785	132,416
Lexington	3,996	4,538
Louisiana	4,325	5,071
Marshall	2,701	4,258
Macon City	3,046	3,350
Moberly	6,070	8,213
Maryville	3,485	4,017
Mexico	3,835	4,789
Saint Charles	5,014	6,500
Saint Joseph	32,431	52,811
Saint Louis	350,518	460,357
Sedalia	9,561	14,511
Springfield	6,522	21,842
Warrensburg	4,049	4,682
NEBRASKA—		
Columbus	2,131	3,118
Fremont	3,013	6,654
Hastings	2,817	13,793
Lincoln	13,003	55,491
Nebraska City	4,183	11,472
Omaha	30,518	139,526
Plattsmouth	4,175	8,403
NEVADA—		
Carson City	4,229	4,080
Virginia City	10,917	6,377
NEW HAMPSHIRE—		
Claremont	4,704	5,553
Concord	13,843	16,948
Dover	11,687	12,779
Keene	6,784	7,439
Manchester	32,630	43,983
Nashua	13,397	19,266
Portsmouth	9,690	9,811
Rochester	5,784	7,113
Somersworth	5,586	6,447
NEW JERSEY—		
Atlantic	5,477	13,038
Bayonne	9,372	18,996
Bordentown	4,258	5,045
Bridgeton	8,722	11,471
Burlington	6,090	8,198

	1880	1890
Camden	41,659	58,274
Elizabeth	28,229	37,670
Gloucester City	5,347	6,563
Hackensack	4,248	6,000
Harrison	6,898	8,528
Hoboken	30,999	43,561
Jersey City	120,722	163,987
Lambertville	4,183	4,138
Millville	7,660	9,957
Morristown	5,418	8,500
Newark	136,508	181,518
New Brunswick	17,166	18,459
Orange	13,207	18,774
Passaic	6,532	13,027
Paterson	51,031	78,358
Perth Amboy	4,808	9,476
Phillipsburg	7,181	8,622
Plainfield	8,125	11,250
Rahway	6,455	7,095
Salem	5,036	5,512
Trenton	29,910	58,488
Vineland	2,519	4,068
Washington	2,142	2,830
NEW MEXICO—		
Santa Fe	6,635	6,713
NEW YORK—		
Albany	90,758	94,640
Amsterdam	9,466	17,264
Auburn	21,924	25,887
Batavia	4,845	7,200
Binghamton	17,317	35,093
Brooklyn	566,663	804,377
Buffalo	155,134	254,457
Canandaigua	5,726	5,847
Catskill	4,320	4,915
Cohoes	19,416	22,432
College Point	4,192	5,500
Corning	4,802	8,520
Cortland	4,050	8,561
Dunkirk	7,248	9,402
Elmira	20,541	28,070
Fredonia		3,390
Fulton		4,208
Geneva	5,878	6,500
Glens Falls	4,900	5,500
Gloversville	7,133	13,706
Greenbush	3,295	7,287
Green Island	4,160	4,403
Hoosick Falls	4,530	3,684
Hornellsville	8,195	10,948
Hudson	8,670	9,885
Ithaca	9,105	11,557
Jamestown	9,357	15,991
Johnstown	5,013	10,851
Kingston	18,344	21,181
Lansingburg	7,432	10,523
Little Falls	6,910	9,000
Lockport	13,522	16,003
Long Island City	17,129	30,396
Malone	4,193	8,774
Middletown	8,494	11,918
New Brighton	12,679	19,000
Newburgh	18,049	23,263
New York	1,206,299	1,513,501
Ogdensburg	10,341	11,667
Oswego	21,116	21,826
Owego	5,525	5,147
Peekskill	6,893	10,026
Port Henry	2,494	2,436
Port Jervis	8,678	7,217
Poughkeepsie	20,207	22,836
Rochester	89,366	138,327
Rome	12,194	14,980
Saratoga Springs	8,421	13,124
Schenectady	13,655	18,392
Sing Sing	6,578	10,072
Syracuse	51,792	87,877
Tarrytown	2,684	3,901
Troy	56,747	60,699
Utica	33,914	44,001
Watertown	10,697	14,740
West Troy	8,820	12,942
Whitehall	4,270	5,346
Yonkers	18,892	31,949
NORTH CAROLINA—		
Asheville	2,616	10,433
Charlotte	7,094	11,555
Fayetteville	3,485	4,220
Greensborough	3,124	3,317
Raleigh	9,265	12,798
Salisbury	2,723	4,436
Wilmington	17,350	20,008
Winston	2,854	7,988
NORTH DAKOTA—		
Bismarck	1,758	2,260
Fargo	2,693	5,613
Grand Forks	1,705	4,963
OHIO—		
Akron	16,512	27,702
Alliance	4,636	7,598
Ashland	3,004	3,563
Ashtabula	4,445	8,316
Bellaire	8,025	9,901
Cambridge	2,883	4,345
Canton	12,258	26,327
Chilicothe	10,938	11,256
Cincinnati	255,139	296,309
Circleville	6,046	6,675
Cleveland	160,146	261,546
Columbus	51,647	90,398
Coshocton	3,044	3,725
Dayton	38,678	58,568
Defiance	5,907	7,386
Delaware	6,894	8,202
East Liverpool	5,668	10,947
Elyria	4,777	5,530
Findlay	4,633	16,000
Fremont	8,446	7,140
Gallipolis	4,400	4,550
Greenville	3,535	5,539
Hamilton	12,122	17,519
Ironton	8,857	10,922
Lancaster	6,803	8,297
Lebanon		3,174
Lima	7,567	15,970
London	3,067	3,292
Mansfield	9,859	13,542
Marietta	5,444	8,308
Marion	3,899	8,308
Massillon	6,836	10,068
Middletown	4,538	7,673
Mount Vernon	5,249	6,016
Napoleon	3,032	2,764
Nelsonville	3,095	4,547
Newark	9,600	14,369
Norwalk	5,704	7,268
Oberlin	3,242	4,330
Piqua	6,031	9,069
Portsmouth	11,321	12,387
Sandusky	15,838	19,234
Sidney	3,823	4,903
Springfield	20,730	32,135
Steubenville	12,093	13,363
Tiffin	7,879	10,772
Toledo	50,137	82,652
Troy	3,803	4,590
Urbana	6,252	6,498
Van Wert	4,079	5,548
Warren	4,428	6,086
Wapakoneta	2,765	3,616
Washington	3,798	5,793
Wooster	5,840	6,050
Xenia	7,026	8,145
Youngstown	15,435	33,199
Zanesville	18,113	21,117
OREGON—		
Astoria	2,803	7,071
East Portland	2,934	10,481
Eugene	1,117	3,958
Portland	17,577	47,294
Salem	2,538	4,515

	1880		1890
PENNSYLVANIA—(**Harrisburg**)			
Allegheny	78,682		104,967
Allentown	18,063		25,183
Altoona	19,710		30,769
Archbald	3,049		4,028
Ashland	6,052		....
Ashley	2,759		3,192
Beaver Falls	5,104		9,734
Bethlehem	5,193		6,557
Bloomsburg	3,702		4,659
Bradford	9,197		10,478
Bristol	5,273	....	6,537
Butler	3,163		8,715
Carbondale	7,714		10,826
Carlisle	6,209		8,031
Catasauqua	3,065		3,703
Chambersburg	6,877		8,006
Chester	14,997		20,107
Coatesville	2,766		3,680
Columbia	8,312	....	10,597
Conshohocken	4,561		5,469
Corry	5,277	....	5,671
Danville	8,346	....	9,073
DuBois	2,718	....	6,107
Dunmore	5,151	....	8,288
Easton	11,924	....	14,185
Erie	27,737	....	39,639
Franklin	5,010	....	6,229
Gettysburg	2,814		3,180
Gilberton	3,098	....	3,668
Greenville	3,007	....	3,637
Hazleton	6,935	....	11,681
Huntingdon	4,125		6,062
Johnstown	8,380		21,053
Kittanning	2,624		3,095
Lancaster	25,769	....	32,090
Lebanon	8,778		14,754
Lewisburg	3,080		3,205
Lewiston	1,758	....	3,288
Lock Haven	5,845	....	7,350
McKeesport	8,212	....	20,741
Mahanoy City	7,181	....	11,291
Marietta	2,503	....	2,385
Mauch Chunk	3,752	....	4,098
Meadville	8,860	....	9,502
Mechanicsburg	3,018		3,690
Minersville	3,249		3,502
New Castle	8,418	....	11,581
New Brighton	3,653	....	5,603
Norristown	13,063	....	19,750
Oil City	7,315		10,943
Philadelphia	847,170	....	1,046,252
Phœnixville	6,682	....	8,508
Pittsburg	156,389		238,473
Pittston	7,472	....	10,295
Pottstown	5,305	....	13,201
Pottsville	13,253	....	14,194
Reading	43,278		58,926
Rochester	2,552	....	3,635
Saint Claire	4,149	....	6,950
Scranton	45,850	....	83,450
Shamokin	8,184		14,339
Sharon	5,684	....	7,447
Sharpsburg	3,466	....	4,897
Shenandoah	10,147	....	13,445
South Bethlehem	4,925	....	10,396
South Easton	4,534	....	5,616
Sunbury	4,077	....	5,892
Tamaqua	5,730	....	4,632
Titusville	9,046	....	8,010
Towanda	3,814	....	4,165
Warren	2,810	....	5,288
Washington	4,292	....	7,045
West Chester	7,046	....	7,965
Wilkesbarre	23,339	....	37,557
Williamsport	18,934	....	27,107
York	13,940	....	20,849
RHODE ISLAND—			
Bristol	6,028	....	5,475
Newport	15,693	....	19,449
Pawtucket	19,030	....	27,502
Providence	104,857	....	132,043
Westerly	6,104	....	6,333
Woonsocket	16,050	....	20,759
SOUTH CAROLINA—			
Charleston	49,984	....	54,592
Columbia	10,036	....	14,508
Greenville	6,160	....	8,340
Spartanburg	3,253	....	5,532
SOUTH DAKOTA—			
Deadwood	3,777	....	2,366
Pierre	.....	....	3,200
Yankton	3,431	....	4,700
TENNESSEE—			
Chattanooga	12,892	....	29,109
Clarksville	3,880	....	8,053
Jackson	5,377	....	10,056
Knoxville	9,693	....	22,447
Memphis	33,592	....	64,586
Nashville	43,350	....	76,309
TEXAS—			
Austin	10,013	....	15,325
Brenham	4,101	....	4,683
Corsicana	3,373	....	8,278
Dallas	10,358	....	38,140
Fort Worth	6,663	....	20,725
Gainesville	2,667	....	6,563
Galveston	22,248	....	29,118
Houston	16,513	....	27,598
Huntsville	2,536	....	2,271
Laredo	3,521	....	11,313
Marshall	5,624	....	7,196
Paris	3,980	....	8,258
San Antonio	20,550	....	38,681
Sherman	6,093	....	7,338
Waco	7,295	....	14,485
UTAH—			
Logan	3,396	....	4,624
Ogden	6,069	....	18,269
Provo City	3,432	....	5,153
Salt Lake City	20,768	....	44,771
VERMONT—(**Montpelier**)			
Brattleboro	5,880	....	6,859
Burlington	11,365	....	14,566
Rutland	12,149	....	11,770
VIRGINIA—			
Alexandria	13,659	....	14,318
Danville	7,526	....	10,285
Fredericksburg	5,010	....	4,517
Hampton	2,684	....	6,538
Lynchburg	15,959	....	19,779
Manchester	5,729	....	9,229
Norfolk	21,966	....	34,986
Petersburg	21,656	....	23,317
Portsmouth	11,390	....	12,345
Richmond	63,600	....	80,838
Staunton	6,664	....	6,921
Winchester	4,958	....	4,957
WASHINGTON—			
Colfax	444	....	2,253
Ellensburg	.....	....	2,758
Fair Haven	.....	....	4,273
Olympia	1,232	....	4,696
Port Townsend	917	....	4,498
Seattle	3,533	....	43,914
Snohomish	149	....	2,003
Spokane Falls	350	....	22,626
Tacoma	1,098	....	35,858
Vancouver	1,722	....	2,849
Walla Walla	3,588	....	7,239
Whatcom	.....	....	3,677
WEST VIRGINIA—			
Charleston	4,192	....	7,257
Martinsburg	6,335	....	7,207
Parkersburg	6,582	....	9,389
Wheeling	30,737	....	35,052
WISCONSIN—			
Appleton	8,005	....	11,825
Baraboo	3,266	....	4,602
Beloit	4,790	....	6,276
Eau Claire	10,119	....	17,438
Fond du Lac	13,094	....	11,942

	1880		1890
Green Bay	7,464	....	8,922
Hudson	2,298	....	2,882
Janesville	9,018	....	10,631
Kenosha	5,039	....	6,529
La Crosse	14,505	....	25,053
Madison	10,324	....	13,392
Manitowoc	6,367	....	7,525
Milwaukee	115,587	....	204,150
Monroe	2,393	....	3,865
Neenah	4,202	....	5,076
Oconto	4,171	....	5,221
Oshkosh	15,748	....	22,752
Platteville	2,687	....	2,740
Portage	4,346	....	5,130
Prairie du Chien	2,777	....	3,122
Racine	16,031	....	21,022
Ripon	3,117	....	3,354
Sheboygan	7,314	....	16,341
Sparta	2,387	....	2,795
Steven's Point	4,449	....	7,888
Superior	665	....	13,000
Two Rivers	2,052	....	2,870
Watertown	7,883	....	8,870
Waukesha	2,969	....	7,475
Wausau	4,277	....	9,251
WYOMING—			
Cheyenne	3,456	....	11,693
Laramie City	2,696	....	6,395

PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

GEORGE WASHINGTON	Born in Westmoreland Co., Va	Feb. 22, 1732.
	Died in Mount Vernon	Dec 14, 1799.
	Inaugurated	April 30, 1789 1797.
JOHN ADAMS	Born in Braintree (now Quincy), Mass	Oct. 19, 1735.
	Died in Quincy	July 4, 1826.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1797-1801.
THOMAS JEFFERSON	Born in Shadwell, Albemarle Co., Va	April 2, 1743.
	Died in Monticello, Va	July 4, 1826.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1801-1809.
JAMES MADISON	Born in King George, Va	March 16, 1751.
	Died in Montpelier, Va	June 28, 1836.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1809 1817.
JAMES MONROE	Born in Westmoreland Co., Va	April 28, 1759.
	Died in New York	July 4, 1831.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1817-1825.
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS	Born in Braintree, Mass	July 11, 1767.
	Died in Washington, D. C	Feb. 23, 1848.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1825-1829.
ANDREW JACKSON	Born in Waxhaw Settlement, N. C	March 15, 1767.
	Died in the "Hermitage," near Nashville, Tenn	June 8, 1845.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1829-1837,
MARTIN VAN BUREN	Born in Kinderhook, N. Y	Dec. 5, 1782.
	Died in Kinderhook, N. Y	July 24, 1862.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1837-1841.
WILLIAM H. HARRISON	Born in Berkeley, Va	Feb. 9, 1773.
	Died in Washington, D. C	April 4, 1841.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1841.
JOHN TYLER	Born in Charles City Co., Va	March 29, 1790.
	Died in Richmond, Va	Jan. 17, 1862.
	Inaugurated	April 4, 1841-1845.
JAMES KNOX POLK	Born in Mecklenburg Co., N. C	Nov. 2, 1795.
	Died in Nashville, Tenn	June 15, 1849.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1845 1849.
ZACHARY TAYLOR	Born in Orange Co., Va	Sept. 24, 1784.
	Died in Washington, D. C	July 9, 1850.
	Inaugurated	March 5, 1849-1851.
MILLARD FILLMORE	Born in Locke, Cayuga Co., N. Y	Jan. 7, 1800.
	Died in Buffalo, N. Y	March 8, 1874.
	Inaugurated	July 10, 1850-1853.
FRANKLIN PIERCE	Born in Hillsborough, N. H	Nov. 23, 1804.
	Died in Concord, N. H	Oct. 8, 1869.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1853-1857.
JAMES BUCHANAN	Born in Stony Batter, Franklin Co., Pa	April 22, 1791.
	Died in Lancaster, Pa	June 1, 1868.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1857-1861.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN	Born in Hardin Co. (now Larue), Ky	Feb. 2, 1809.
	Died in Washington, D. C	April 15, 1865.
	Inaugurated	March 14, 1861-1865.
ANDREW JOHNSON	Born in Raleigh, N. C	Dec. 29, 1808.
	Died in Greenville, Tenn	July 31, 1875.
	Inaugurated	April 15, 1865-1869.
ULYSSES S. GRANT	Born in Point Pleasant, Ohio	April 27, 1822.
	Died at Mount Gregor, N. Y	July 23, 1885.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1869-1877.
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES	Born in Delaware, Ohio	Oct. 4, 1822.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1877-1881.
JAMES A. GARFIELD	Born in Orange, Ohio	Nov. 19, 1831.
	Died in Elberon, Long Branch, N. J	Sept. 19, 1881,
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1881.
CHESTER A. ARTHUR	Born in Fairfield, Franklin Co., Vt	Oct. , 1830.
	Died at 123 Lexington Ave., N Y City	Nov. 18, 1886.
	Inaugurated	September 20, 1881-1885.
GROVER CLEVELAND	Born in Caldwell, N. J	March 18, 1837.
	Inaugurated	March 4, 1885-1889.
BENJAMIN HARRISON	Born in North Bend, Ohio	Aug. 20, 1833.
	Inaugurated	March 4. 1889.

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